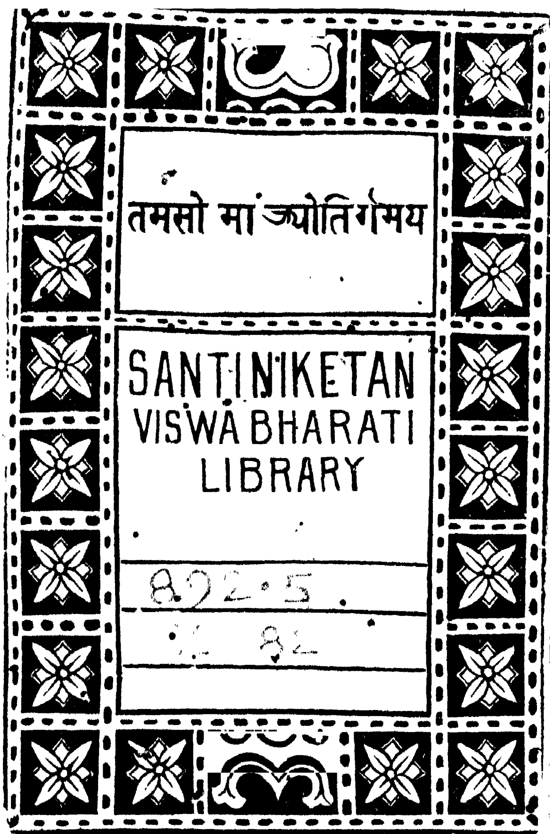


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THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE

THE

CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE

From Ancient Times to the Indian Mutiny of 1857

Submitted as a Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of London

By

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with a foreword

by

Professor H. A. R. GIBB OF OXFORD

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TO

THE HAPPY MEMORY

of

Shamsu 'l-'Ulamā' Muḥammad Shiblī Nu'mānī

FOREWORD

There can be few students of Arabic who have not had occassion to deplore the absence of detailed studies on all the later development of Arabic literature. The vast extent of that literature and the number of works still extant were first revealed by Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literature* and further emphasised by his later *supplement*. But for all its great merits, this supplied little more than the titles and catalogues references of the books it listed. Not only was there no means of estimating the value of the compositions of the several authors, but it was often difficult even to distinguish which of them were to be assigned to different subjects, unless one could consult the original catalogues.

Down to the present time, however, little has been done to supplement Brockelmann's work by detailed analysis and criticism of particular sections of later Arabic literature. This is the task which Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad has set himself to fulfil for the Arabic literature produced in India or by Indian scholars. It is true that, as he takes occassion to point out, most of this later writing shows little originality in conception, though it is by no means devoid of originality in execution. Further, Arabic scholarship in India concentrated almost entirely on scholastic works related more or less closely to the religious sciences, and it rarely ventured into the realms of pure literature or even of history. Yet it would be utterly mistaken to regard it as unimportant or to limit its importance to the few more outstanding works. Not only does it furnish the indispensable background to the active

religious life of Muslim India, but its influence has been felt throughout the Muslim world, both directly and indirectly. Such men as Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi and Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā have contributed essential elements to the present currents of thought in Islam, and the influence of Indian Ṣūfiism has probably been no less effective in the Western Asiatic Lands.

By his clear arrangement and his careful summaries, Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad has performed a valuable service which illuminates a hitherto obscure branch of Arabic Literature and sets it in its true perspective. Students of Arabic and all students of Islam will be grateful to him, and will hope that his example may encourage others to undertake similar researches in this immense and little-worked field.

H. A. R. GIBB

PREFACE

This dissertation was submitted to the University of London in 1929. The Board of Examiners, one of whom was the late Professor Reynold A. Nicholson of the University of Cambridge, approved it for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After returning to India, I regret to say, owing to circumstances over which I had no control, I could not get sufficient time to revise the work as thoroughly as I desired. Moreover, its publication was unavoidably delayed. In a work like this it was necessary to make use of diacritical marks and no press at Allahabad found it possible to carry out my instructions. With great difficulty I succeeded in persuading the Juvenile Press to take the work in hand, and its proprietor got some letters with diacritical marks founded for me, and the printing began as early as 1937. But, to my great misfortune, this gentleman died and the work was consequently suspended until the press was re-started by his brother. He had hardly printed a few forms when he wound up his business and sold the press and the types to persons with whom it was impossible for me to make any arrangements. Then I made efforts to persuade the Dikshit Press to take up the work but by the time the printing was resumed, the war had broken out and the scarcity of paper and other difficulties which it entailed stood in my way. Naturally the progress was very slow and disappointing. When the printing was at long last finished, another difficulty arose. I had always wished that my book should be brought out with a foreword by Professor Gibb of Oxford but to despatch the book to England

was impossible during the war and for this reason I had to wait until the situation was easier.

The subject of the present dissertation is "The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature up to the end of the Mughal period (1857)". The term 'literature' is to be taken in its general sense—as comprising all forms of literary activity in some particular language.

Much has been written on the history of Arabic literature and much still remains to be written. The chief characteristic of the Western method of scientific investigation is to divide a subject into as many divisions and sub-divisions as are convenient and useful for the purpose in hand, and then to make researches in one of the branches according to one's own taste and field of activity.

Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) was probably the first per son to treat the history of the Arabic poets of a certain period by arranging them according to the countrie to which they belonged.* But he omits India. Brockelmann has followed the same principle in accordance with the more comprehensive scope of his great history of Arabic literature. He is the first writer to devote a separat chapter, brief though it is, to India under different periods.† After him no one seems to have followed a similar geographical arrangement in a history of Arabic literature. Accordingly, an attempt is made

*His work *Yatimat al-Dahr* is said to have been composed on the lines of Harun b 'Ali's *Kitab al-Bari'* (vide Khalifah II, 4). But no copy of this work is at present known to exist and so it is not known whether Harun also arranged the accounts of the poets whom he dealt with in his book according to the countries to which they belonged.

†Brockelman's Geschichte, Vol. II, pp 219-222; 415-422 503-504.

in the following pages to give an account of such Arabic literature as was produced in India or by Indians.

Connotation of the Term "Indian Work".

Here I may define what I mean by an Indian Arabic work. Any Arabic work produced by Indians, whether in India or outside India and also by non-Indians while resident in India, falls within the scope of the present subject. It may be objected that works produced by Indian writers outside India ought to be assigned to the countries in which they were domiciled, if India is to receive the credit of such Arabic literature as was written in India by foreigners. But in both the cases there are special reasons for such an inclusion. India has always been regarded as a country of enormous wealth, and the courts of Indian kings and princes have always been centres of attraction for a large number of scholars moved by a desire for fame or riches. If learned men came to India and composed books here this was due to the encouragement and patronage afforded to them by the princes and nobles of this country. But such was not the case in other countries. Every Indian who went abroad did so merely in search of further knowledge, having already acquired a high education in his native country. He did not receive any special encouragement or support in foreign courts. If he left India for good and settled permanently elsewhere, it was due to his finding his new surroundings more congenial for the realisation of his research aspirations. Indian scholars travelled to foreign countries in order to complete their education, while many great foreign scholars were attracted to India by the hope of receiving pecuniary aid in serving the cause of Arabic

literature. In the former case, she contributed to Arabic literature through the minds of her own enthusiastic sons, who even left their country for the sake of knowledge, while in the latter, she did the same through the rich purses of her generous children.

The Plan of the Dissertation

The contribution of India to Arabic literature may be divided into two periods, to wit, the pre-Islamic period, that is to say, from ancient times to the invasion of India by Maḥmūd G͟haznawī, and the Muslim period, *i.e.*, from the times of the G͟haznawid Dynasty to the Indian Mutiny of 1857. As the material for the first period is very scanty, only one chapter is devoted to it; and the second and the most fruitful period of Indian Arabic literature, has been further divided into eleven chapters according to the various branches of Arabic literature as follows :—

1. Qur'ānic literature; 2. *Ḥadīth*; 3. *Fiqh*; 4. *Taṣawwuf*; 5. Islamic Dogma and Scholastic and Controversial Theology and those religious books which do not satisfactorily come under any of the preceding sections; 6. Philosophy; 7. History, Biography and Travel; 8. Mathematics and Medicine; 9. Grammar, Lexicography and Rhetoric; 10. Ornate Prose and 11. Poetry. All these chapters with an introduction constitute the First Part of the book, and the Second Part contains a detailed list of all the Arabic works written in India or by Indians. A note on the arrangement of the list will be found prefixed thereto on page 23.

In presenting my work to the benevolent reader and to the equally benevolent critic, I must readily acknowledge that I am conscious of the many defects

and shortcomings that exist therein, and I presume many more will be pointed out by those who are competent to judge. For that I crave the sympathy and indulgence of both; for "whoever composes a book, makes himself a target" says a well-known Arabic proverb. It may be pointed out here that as the printing of the book has been done piecemeal and by different presses and in different years, the uniformity of type and paper could not be maintained.

The system of the transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by the late Professor Nicholson in his Literary History of the Arabs, *viz.*, ث = th : ج = J ; ح = ḥ ; خ = kh ; ذ = dh ; ز = z ; ص = ṣ, ض = ḍ ; ط = ṭ ; ظ = ẓ ; ع = ' ; غ = gh ; ق = q ; همزة = '

The final *h* which is generally omitted has been restored throughout and the vowel sounds which are commonly represented by *ai* and *au* have been transliterated by *ay* and *aw* respectively.

In conclusion, I wish to perform the pleasant duty of recording my gratitude to several friends and benefactors.

First, I wish to acknowledge most sincerely the great help and direction that I received from the late Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C. I. E., Professor of Arabic, under whose kind supervision I worked at the School of Oriental Studies, London.

I also wish heartily to thank Professor H. A. R. Gibb of Oxford who was very kind to me during my stay at the School of Oriental Studies, and who even now has been good enough to write a foreword for the book.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. C. A. Storey (then Librarian of the India Office Library and now Professor of Arabic at Cambridge), for the useful information and advice that he gave me.

I take this opportunity of recording a special debt of the sincerest gratitude to the Allahabad University Authorities in general and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., the then Vice-Chancellor of the University in particular for granting me facilities for proceeding abroad. In this connection I should also like to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Zāhid Ḥusain, C. I. E. (Now Financial Minister, Hyderabad State) without whose kind assistance it would have been difficult for me to pursue my studies in Great Britain.

I am also glad to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University and Dr. Saeed Hasan of Allahabad University in cheering me up and in not letting me feel homesick during my sojourn in London by their charming company.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Ṣaghīr Aḥmad Jān, M.A., of the Commercial College, Delhi, who prepared the index.

I am also thankful to the late Mr. Madho Prasad, proprietor-manager of the Juvinile Press who printed almost half the book and to Mr. M. K. Dikshit who completed it.

There are many other scholars who have helped me at various stages by their suggestions and I am deeply indebted to them all for their assistance.

M. G. ZUBAID AḤMAD

University of Allahabad
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE ON FIQH

CHAPTER V

TAṢAWWUF OR ISLAMIC MYSTICISM AND ETHICS 69

PAGE

CHAPTER XII

PARI II

INTRODUCTION

India and Arabic Literature.

Of all the countries that have ever been under a Muslim Government, India (with the exception of the Western Provinces of Sind, Multān and Balūchistān) and Turkey in Europe are among the few that have not been ruled by Arabs or by some Arabic-speaking people. Not only that, but India also, on account of her geographical position, could not enjoy such facilities for coming into direct contact with Arabian civilisation and the centres of Arabic learning as were possible for other countries, *e.g.*, Persia and Transoxania in the east, and Northern Africa in the west. Sind was annexed by the Arabs as early as the end of the first century of the Hijra, and it remained in their possession for some time, until Muʿtamid (256-279 A.H.) conferred the government of this province upon Yaʿqūb b. Layth, the founder of the Ṣaffārid House; after his death two Muslim kingdoms of Arabs rose up on these Indian frontiers. But of their intellectual activities nothing is known.

Moreover, the Muslim population in India has always formed a small minority, and the strong forces of the rival literatures have always been active. Hence the Arabic literature produced in India is meagre, as compared with the Persian literature of this country.

But in spite of all these geographical and political disadvantages, Arabic could not be neglected by the Indian Muslims, seeing that it was the language in which their holy scriptures had been written, and was the key to the invaluable treasures of Islamic learning. How far India

has served the cause of this language is the subject matter of this thesis.

Arabic composition and compilation in India commenced just a little before the time when the general tide of Arabic activities all over the countries in which they had accomplished wonders, had already begun to subside and many branches of Arabic literature had ripened to such an extent that no fresh contribution to them could be expected. For instance, the Qur'ānic works and writings on *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, had become so numerous that any original work on the subject matter contained in them remained hardly possible, at least from the standpoint of a Muslim. Other departments of literature, such as philosophy, scholastic theology, mathematics, medicine and sciences, though ever capable of original contributions, had become stagnant for lack of originality on the part of the scholars concerned, and what had been achieved in these domains by the early thinkers was merely being commented on again and again, instead of receiving additions from the labours of succeeding generations of the learned.

Under these circumstances any originality in the contribution of India to Arabic literature cannot be looked for. On the other hand, it would be unjust to undervalue her contribution, meagre though it may appear.

It is curious that, generally speaking, there is little or no difference between the Arabic works produced in India and those of the contemporary writers of other countries. The reason is not far to seek. It is due to *Taqlīd*, carried on blindly in India as elsewhere in the Muslim world. As long as the Muslim world had not fallen victim to this great hindrance to the advancement of learnig it achieved wonders in every branch of human study; but after it had been overtaken by *Taqlīd*, all its progressive activities ceased. As far as Arabic literature and Arabian culture are concerned, Muslims achieved what they did achieve

before the Mongol invasion, which, by the destruction of the Caliphate, made Persia free for ever from acknowledging an Arab ruler even nominally and checked that strong current of progress and development which characterized the literature and culture of the past. Then followed an age of mere imitation and compilation. Though there was no paucity of erudite scholars and literary activities showed no sign of diminution, yet, with a few exceptions, no originality can be pointed out in the works of the later periods. The whole Muslim, world became the slave of *Taqlīd*; and in every branch of learning the *Muta'akhkhirūn* became blind followers of the *Mutaqaddimūn.* The decisions of the predecessors were accepted as final solutions of every problem, and thus the learning of the Muslim world became so systematised and uniform that no violation, however healthy and beneficial, was possible.

The conditions of the Muslims of India was even worse. Other countries had had their times of free thinking; but in India Muslim literary activities began at a time when the Muslim world outside India had already fallen into the slough of *Taqlīd*, and the Muslim scholars of India consequently regarded Arabic learning with such awe that they could not shake off the bondage of *Taqlīd*. They had no wish to deviate from the following of the *Mutaqaddimūn* or to invent anything new; *e.g.*, when Fayḍī wrote his commentary, entitled Sawāṭiʻ-al-Ilhām the orthodox theologians raised an objection that to write a commentary in such a style devoid of dotted letters, was an innovation; to which the shrewd commentator replied that the very first creed of Islām لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله is devoid of dotted letters. They were so afraid of innovations that even in secular literature, they only slavishly imitated and vehemently supported their views. Commentating was felt to be what the case demanded, and constituted the pious office of the custodian of the learning which previous generations had bequeathed.

Moreover, Islām has never fettered itself under geographical boundaries, as some Muslim Scholar has once very aptly remarked that as there is no English Mathematics, German Astronomy or French Chemistry, so there is no Turkish, Arabian, Persian or Indian Islam. And so it is no wonder that there should be little or no difference between the Arabic literature produced outside India and that produced in India. The Ḥanafī *Fiqh* of India, for instance, is the same as that of any other country. The *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, composed here is as reliable and authentic in Egypt as it is in India. The same is the case with the Indian commentaries on *Ḥadīth* and the Qur'ān. Slight differences, corresponding to the ancient customs and usages of a country find no place in the books on *Fiqh*, and are only to be found in the legal statutes of the State, if there are any such. *Fatāwā* for the settlement of new problems are always based upon the old authorities which are common to all Muslim countries. India has produced many books entitled *Fatāwā*, the most important being *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*. The great Indian work on *Uṣūl-i-Fiqh*, the *Musallam al Thabūt* by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī is given a place, second only to the early standard works.

As regards *Ḥādīth*, the only work left for the later generations was to arrange and re arrange them in different ways and to compose commentaries upon them. India has performed both these tasks. Works such as *Kanz al 'Ummāl*, *Lam'āt Tanqīḥ* and *Musawwā* are of this type.

As to the Qur'ānic literature, the Prophet had forbidden his followers to comment upon any Qur'anic verse without reference to *Ḥadīth*; and so *Ḥadīth* is inevitable for *Tafsīr* also. After the authoritative collections of *Ḥadīth* had been made, there was no special demand for original commentaries. People, however, went on writing commentaries from various points of view, and are still writing them; but the sources are the same. India produced two commentaries

that are entirely original as far as the style is concerned; one is *Swāṭi' al Ilhām* in which dotted letters have been throughout avoided, and the other is *Jubb Shaghab* in which dotted letters only have been used.

As regards scholastic theology, one may say that this field is so vast that there will always be some scope for original work; but this branch of learning after a time became so stagnant that nothing new outside India was achieved. In India, however, Shāh Walī Allāh wrote *Ḥujjat Allāh al Bāligha*, which, if not entirely original, contains a considerable amount of originality, and its merits have been duly recognised by Muslim scholars in other countries also.

As regards *Taṣawwuf*, hardly any country showed any originality after composition of the standard works on the subject. India produced *Jawāhir-i-Khamsah* which is original as far as those astrological aspects of Ṣūfī practices are concerned which have been taken from, or influenced by, Hindū learning. A reference may be made to Muḥibb Allāh Allahbādi's Ṣūfīistic works which though not original are highly valuable and meritorious.

As to philosophy, in producing commentaries and super-commentaries which, with a few exceptions, constitute the whole of the philosophical composition of the Muslim authors after the golden age of Islamic learning, India has not lagged behind. Logic has chiefly appealed to the mind of the Indian Muslim; and after the composition of the standard works on logic, in no other country has such a book been written as *Sullam al 'Ulūm* by Muḥibb Allāh, an Indian scholar.

As regards history, belles lettres, and poetry, India has not achieved much in these branches of Arabic literature, as compared with other countries; and the reasons are obvious. Arabic was never spoken in India, and the language of the Muslim rulers was Persian. Yet Ghulām 'Alī Āzād was no mean poet, and he left behind seven

Diwāns in Arabic, possessed of distinguished characteristics, and has shown some originality in his poetry.

In the matter of lexicography, it may be said that important books such as *'Ubāb*, *Tāj al 'Arūs*, etc., are works by Indian scholars. In grammar, *Irshād*, by Shihāb al Dīn is arranged on original lines as far as the plan and style of the book are concerned. In rhetoric new figures of speech were invented by Amīr. Khusraw and Āzād, who also introduced some Sanskrit literary devices into Arabic literature.

As regards mathematics, after the classical and golden period of Islamic culture, very little was produced in the Arabic language in this branch. During the later period, Bahā' al-Dīn was a great mathematician in Persia, and his *Khulaṣāt al Ḥisāb*, a treatise on arithmetic, was commented upon by more than one scholar in India.

In medicine, apart from commentaries and glosses, on the standard works, *Qarābadīns* (books on medical remedies) have been written in India, and they contain the results of the personal experiments and researches of the authors.

In regard to the commentaries and glosses compiled in India, it may be stated generally that they are often more useful and more copious than those produced outside India. For instance, Ḥājjī Khalīfah speaks highly of the glosses of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm wherever he mentions them Professor Margoliouth has, to the credit of India, expressed his appreciation of a *Ḥāshiyat al Bayḍāwī* composed in India, in his preface to Chrishtomathia Baiḍawiana.[1]

Arabic being altogether a foreign language in India, Indian Muslims have naturally taken greater pains in elucidating the linguistic difficulties of Arabic literature than the people of any Arabic-speaking country. Notes and glosses written by Englishmen on English books are, from

1 Luzac ed., 1894 p. VI.

the standpoint of an Indian student, not so useful as those written by Indian authors.

Comparison between the Contribution of India to Arabic and to Persian Literature.

In India Persian had some advantages over Arabic. Persian is an easy language, and was moreover the official language of the rulers of India for nine centuries. Further, there is direct communication between India and Persia, while the sea cuts off India from Arabic-speaking countries. Hence the contribution of India to Persian literature has been greater than to Arabic. Yet in the domain of theology, philosophy and the sciences in India, not much has been written in Persian, as is also the case in Persia itself. For instance, as regards the Qur'ānic literature, we find that in India only a few commentaries have been written in Persian. Mr. Storey's *Persian Literature* shows that in India there exist about twenty books written on Qur'ānic topics in Persian. Out of them only four or five are full commentaries on the whole Qur'ān. The hold that Arabic had on Muslim theology, even in India, may be judged from the fact that when Shāh Walī Allāh translated the Qur'ān into Persian, the Mawlawis of his age became so antagonistic to him that they wanted to kill him.[2]

Very little has been written in Persian in India on logic, philosophy and scholastic theology; the resources of this language have rather been employed in the composition of fiction and history, and belles lettres; while on the other hand, Arabic has been very little used in India for such purposes. But just as the reputation of Amīr Khusraw and Faydi as two Indian poets of Persian is unquestionable, similarly, Āzād has earned a name as an Arabic poet of India. Undoubtedly the mass of Persian historical and poetical literature in India is enormous. Much has been

2 Muhammad Rahīm Bakhsh, Hayāt-i-Walī (حيات ولي) p. 231, 2.

written on Ṣūfism also. But in spite of the abundance of Persian literature produced in India, nothing original is found in these contributions. Of course the contents of new histories constitute new material, but such composition does not connote originality. India has also produced some historical literature in Arabic. In Ṣūfīstic literature, again, we recognise the same lack of fresh contributions. The Persian poetry of India was merely an imitation of the poetry of Iran. If Persian poetry produced in India differs from the poetry of Persia, it differs not in form or spirit, but in artificiality, in richness of imagination and obscurity of metaphors. The Persian poetry of India is much more artificial, more fanciful and more ornate than the poetry of Persia ; accordingly, the poetry of 'Urfī and Fayḍī is much more appreciated in India and Turkey than in Persia, and a native critic of Persia has remarked of 'Urfī that he was a poetical genius but the environments and surroundings of India spoiled his poetry.[3] Characteristics of a similar nature are found in the Arabic poetry produced in India.

This comparison shows that orignal contributions, in the true sense of the phrase, are hardly to be expected in the case of a foreign literature. So if India has not made original contributions to Arabic literature, we need not be surprised, to say nothing of the fact that genuine originality in literature is hard to find. Further, it is true that India has not made such rich and abundant contributions to Arabic literature as made by the Arabic-speaking countries or those countries which are nearer to Arabia and have had easier and more direct communication with the centres of Arabic learning. Still the achievements of India in this direction are, in view of her geographical and political position, as much as can reasonably be expected of her.

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3 Muhammad Husayn Azād, Sukhandān-i-Fārs (سخندان فارس) chapteer on the characteristics of Persian in India.

Here may be given a succinct but coherent account of Arabic scholarship and authorship under the various Muslim ruling dynasties in India.

THE 'ARAB GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

Sind and Multan were the first provinces of India to be conquered by the 'Arabs. In the very scanty sources of information which have come down to us regarding the history of the 'Arab occupation of Sind there is practically nothing to be learnt about the literary activities of the Muslims there. Mas'ūdī in his account of the towns of Manṣūrah and Multan, which he describes as flourshing and prosperous at the time of his visit in 303-4/915-16 makes no mention whatever of men of learning, although Maqdisī speaks of some scholars in Manṣūrah, one of whom being Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad Manṣūrī[4]. According to Maqdisī, the Qāḍī was a follower of Imām Dā'ūd, the Ẓāhirite, and an author of many works.

Still it is unlikely that these two towns which were in a flourshing condition under the rule of the 'Arabs were devoid of any scholar, and we find that Abū Ḥafṣ, *Muḥaddith* of Baṣrah, who, according to one authority, was the first Muslim to compose a book, went to Sind in the early days of the conquest[5]. Being a *tab' tābi'īn* (Companion of the Companions of the Prophet's Companions), he must have been the fountain-head of the narration of *Ḥadīth* there, and we may, with some probability assume that the Manṣūrah (Bhakkar), Daybūl (Thattah) and Multan were the first towns in India to become seats of Islamic learning. During this period many Indians, whether Muslim or Hindu, went to

[4] Maqdisi, p. 749.
[5] Ibn Sa'd, VII 2. p. 36.

Arabia. Ibn Nadim mentions two names of Hindū scholars, Mānka, the Indian, and the son of Dhan or Dhūn, the Indian, with whose help some books were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic.[6] None of these renderings is known to exist except a small treatise by Shānāq on piosons.[7] Sam'ānī has given several names of the Muslim scholars under 'Daybulī', 'Sindhī', 'Lāhūrī' and 'Manṣūrī.'[8]

Manṣūrah, however, soon lost its importance, and about 980 A. D. Multan was seized by the Karmathians who made it a seat of their own propaganda.

Many names of the scholars and theologians that Sind produced after it was annexed by the Sulṭān of Delhi, have come down to us; among whom mention may be made here of a great saint Bahā'u 'd-Dīn-Zakariyyā of Multan (d. 661/1262) and of Abū Ḥanīfah Sindhī who was a Qāḍī at Bhakkar during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and who was met by Ibn Baṭṭuṭah in 734/1333.[9] He was followed by many scholars such as Raḥmatullāh (d. 993/1585) Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib Sindī who flourshed in the tenth century of the Hijra, Shaykh Ḥamīd b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1009/1600), Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l-Hādī (d. 1138/1728), Muḥd. Ḥayāt Sindī (d. 1163/1653), Ḥājjī Hāshim (d. 1174/1663) and Muḥd. 'Ābid Sindī (1257/1841). All of them were authors and were well-versed in *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh*, on which they wrote books, some of which have been mentioned in the present work.

THE GHAZNAWIDS (388-582/998-1186)

The 'Arabs were followed by the Ghaznawids.

[6] Ibn Nadim (Cairo edition), p 342.

[7] For a short account of the book refer to p. 7 of this present work.

[8] Sam'ani's Ansab, pp. 237, 313b, 497 and 543 respectively.

[9] Nuzhatu 'l-Khawatir, p. 7.

Their great leader Maḥmūd was a champion of learning and culture and extended his patronage to some of the most distinguished scholars from remote Asiatic countries who flocked to his Court. He was intersted chiefly in Persian, but his knowledge of Arabic was by no means slight. He took a keen interest in the learned discussions of the scholars of the Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī schools. Not only that, he wrote also a book on *Fiqh* entitled *Al-Farīd fi 'l-furū'* of which Ḥājjī Khalīfah has made mention in comendable terms[10]. It was during his reign that Al-Bīrūnī came to India to study Hindu culture and learning and to collect materials for his famous book *Kitābu 'l-Hind.* This scholar dedicated his *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī* to Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd. He also wrote al-*Jamāhir fi'l-Jawāhir* and *Al-Dastūr* for Sulṭān Mawdūd. It was Mas'ūd who made Lahore the capital of the Ghaznawid dominions east of the Indus, and from that time this city has always been a seat of Islamic learning and has produced many eminent scholars and authors. Shaykh Muḥd. Ismā'īl (d. 448/1056), the first *Muḥaddith* and *Mufassir* to enter India proper, settled at Lahore during the reign of this king[11]. Mention may be made here of Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān who was attached to the court of Mas'ūd III. He was an eminent poet and composed verses in three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

THE GHŪRIDS (82-602/1186-1206)

A few names of Muslim scholars who flourished in India under this short-lived Ghūrid dynasty have come

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[10]Hajji Khalifah under the title.

[11]Tadhkirah, p. 23 and p. 179.

down to us. Of them, the most important is Khwājah Mu'inu 'd-Dīn Chishtī (d. 634/1236) who is rightly regarded as the greatest Muslim saint of India. He came to India in 556-/1161 accompanied by his great disciple Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, and staying for some days at Lahore and for about five years at Multan, he finally settled at Ajmīr. He was residing there when Prithwī Rājā of Delhi and Ajmīr was defeated and killed by Muḥd. Ghūrī in 588/1192. He was mainly responsible for the spread of Islām in Rajputana and after him, his disciples spread all over India, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī being deputed to go to Delhi.

Another foreign scholar who might be said to have been connected in a way with India under the Ghūrids was the great Muslim scholastic Imām Fakhru 'd-Dīn Rāzī who was attached to the Ghūrid Court and was held in great esteem by both the Ghūrī brothers[13]. But as the capital of the Ghūrīd House was Ghaznah and not Lahore, the Imām's sojourn in India must have been short and occasional.

THE SLAVE DYNASTY (602-689/1206-1290)

Quṭbu 'd-Dīn, the founder of this dynasty was the first Muslim king to make Delhi the capital of Muslim Government in India and so Delhi soon became another great centre of Islamic learning in this country.

In the time of Iltutmish we find that several scholars sought refuge at Delhi after the sack of Bukhārā by Chingīz khān.[14] During his reign an eminent *Muḥaddith* and philologist named Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī of

[12]Subhah, 26; Amir Khusraw's preface to his *Ghurrau 'l-Kamal.*

[13]Bada'uni, Vol. I, p. 53.

[14]Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 115.

Lahore was attached to his court as ambassador of the 'Abbaside Caliph at Baghdād.[15]

By the time of Balban, Delhi had become such a large and important centre of learning and such a favourite resort of scholars as to merit the enthusiastic praises sung in its honour by Amīr Khusraw who compared the city very favourably with the educational centres of Central Asia.[16] Indeed as the Mughals were still sacking the centres of culture in central Asia and other countries, many of their princes and learned men sought shelter at Delhi at this time, and thus increased the output of its learning. Firishtah says that Balban's reign was *Khayru 'l-a'ṣār* (the best period) in which flourished many scholars and saints in India.

No Arabic works of Indian authors belonging to the Ghaznawid and Ghūrid dynasties seem to have come down to us, but some of the books written by the scholars of this period are still extant. The most important author under the Slave Dynasty is the eminent traditionist and philologist, Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī of Lahore, (d. 6.0/1252) already refered to. Serveral of his works have come down to us of which the *'Ubāb* and the *Mashāriqu 'l-anwār* are the most important. A book by Shaykh Jamāl Hānsawī (d. 669/1260) who was one of the great Khalīfahs of the Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shakarganj, is also extant. Muḥd. b. Ismā'īl who had migrated to Delhi from outside India wrote a book on *Fiqh* and that also exists, but all the works of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn of Nāgor (d. 605/1208) who wrote several books seem to have perished.

THE KHALJĪ DYNASTY (689-720/1290-1320)

Sulṭān Jalālu 'd-Dīn, the founder of this dynasty

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[15]Refer to page 250 of this work.

[16]Amir Khusraw's poem, '*Ashiqah*.

was also a patron of men of letters, as we may gather from the long list of learned men who flourished in his reign, recorded by his contemporaries and the later authors like Báda'ūnī.[17]

Of his successor, 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, however, Ḍiyā'u 'd-Dīn Baranī tells us that "he was an illiterate person and never associated with men of learning."[18] Yet we find that scholars and theologians such as Qāḍī Ḍiyā'u 'd-Dīn Bayānawī, Ẓahīr-i-Lang and the Qāḍī Mughīthu 'd-Dīn were attached to his court. With the last mentioned Qāḍī, the Sulṭān had a long conversation which fortunately ended in a reward to the Qāḍī contrary to his expectation of being put to death.[19] On the authority of 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq[20] it may be pointed out that notwithstanding the illiteracy of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn and his want of kindness and sympathy towards the learned, his court was a great resort for the most learned and erudite scholars. Firishtah says that in no other age was such a large number of men of letters and science to be seen in Delhi as during this reign [21] and has given the names of forty-six scholars and learned men of this period. But we know little about their literary productions as no Arabic work of any of them has come down to us. Amīr Khusraw, the poet-laureate, used to compose poems in Arabic as well as in Persian. In his *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* he has given Arabic examples of his own composition, side by side with Persian, to illustrate all the rhetorical contrivances he invented. Of the learned men and scholars of this age, he has most highly praised Shihābu 'd-Dīn Ṣadr-nashīn for his learning and his mastery of

[17] Bada'uni, Vol. I, p. 181.

[18] Barani and Elliot, III, 158.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Elliot, VI, 485.

[21] Firishtah, I, 212, 213,

the Arabic language, in which he used to compose elegant verses.[22] Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā', one of the greatest saints and Ṣūfīs of his age, whose Arabic *Khuṭabah* is still recited and admired in India, also flourished at this time. And it was during this reign that the learned *Muḥaddith* Shamsu'd-Dīn came from Egypt to Multan to spread the studies of *Ḥadīth* in India. He brought with him about four hundred works on *Ḥadīth* and intended to present a commentary of his own to the Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn; but he found on arrival that the Sulṭān did not say his prayers nor did he visit the Mosque on Fridays, and this so greatly disappointed him that he returned forthwith to Egypt. But before leaving, he wrote a long and interesting letter to the Sulṭān which is contained in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā' Baranī.

Before we leave the Khaljī Dynasty, a reference may be made to an Indian Muslim Shaykh Ṣafiyyu 'd-Dīn Hindī (d. 715/1315) who, having received his early education in India, went in pursuit of higher studies to Yaman and Egypt. He soon acquired celebrity for his great knowledge of scholastic theology and jurisprudence, and became known as a great author.

THE TUGHLAQ DYNASTY (720-815/1320-1414)

Sulṭān Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn, the founder of the Tughlaq Dynasty, had a great respect for religion and learned men, and it is recorded that on one occasion when a polemical discussion was being held in his presence on the subject of *Samā'* (Ṣūfīistic music) the leader of the controversy, Shaykh Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā', so skilfully defended its lawfulness that the Sulṭān, who had pre-

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[22] Amir Khusraw, Dibachah-i-Ghurrat al-Kamal.

viously held *samā'* to be unlawful, was converted to the opposite opinion.[23]

The next Sulṭan of this house, Muḥammad b. Tughlaq was a verstile scholar and also a patron of learning. He deputed Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn 'Imrānī of Delhi, an eminent scholar and author of several works, to go to Shīrāz to induce Qāḍī 'Aḍudu 'd-Dīn Ijī, the author of the *Mawāqif*, to come to Delhi ; but when the report of his mission was brought to the notice of Abū Isḥāq, the ruler of Shīrāz, he did not allow the Qāḍī to leave his home.[24] Muḥammad bin Tughlaq also ordered another noted theologian, Shamsu 'd-Dīn Yaḥyā to proceed to Kashmīr to spread Islām there, but due to sudden illness he could not undertake the mission.[25]

Yet, strangely enough, in spite of his being thus well disposed towards the learned, and himself a scholar, there was not the same concourse of the literati in Delhi under Muḥammad Tughlaq as there had been in the time of the illiterate 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn. We learn, indeed, from 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī that, after the reign of the last-named monarch, the standard of wisdom and erudition began to sink to a lower level, and although Sulṭān Muḥamad appreciated all kinds of learning, yet there was not such a number of learned men flourishing in his time as during the reign of that Khiljī monarch.[26]

His successor Fīrūz, besides being one of the most pious Muslim kings of India, was a great scholar and patron of learning. His reign produced many authors, most of whom wrote books on *Fiqh*. Mention may be made here of such scholars as Mawlānā Khwājagī, the

[23] Firishtah, Vol. II, 744.
[24] Ma'athir, I, 185.
[25] Tadhkirah, 86.
[26] Elliot VI, 486.

teacher of Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī, Qāḍī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn of Delhi, the author of a commentary of the *Hidāyah*, Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī, the author of the *Biḥāru 'z-zākhirah*, Aḥmad Thānesarī, an Arabic poet whose *Qaṣīdatu 'l-dāliyyah* is admired for its beauty and elegance, and 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir, who also used to compose verses in Arabic of which *al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-lāmiyyah*, composed in reply to the *Lāmiyyatu 'l-'Ajam* is a master-piece.

Another patron of learning, attached to the Court of Fīrūz was Tātār Khān, under whose patronage a compendium of *Fiqh*, entitled *al-Fatāwā al-Tātār Khāniyyah* was composed by the eminant scholar 'Ālim b. 'Aṭā' Andapathī. Nor must we forget that Majdu 'd-Dīn Fīrūzābādī, the author of the well-known Arabic lexicon, *al-Qāmūs*, visited India during the reign of this Sulṭān.

While speaking of the scholars and authors of the Tughlaq period, mention may be made of 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī, who having studied under eminent theologians of Delhi, such as Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī, Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khaṭīb Dihlawī etc., went for further studies to Egypt where he rose so high as an erudite scholar that he was appointed to the post *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*. He was the author of several works.

It may by pointed out that besides Sind, Multan, Lahore and Delhi, Kashmīr had also become a seat of Muslim learning by this time. A short account of the Muslim scholars of Kashmir will be given later on.

THE SAYYID DYNASTY (817-855/1414-1451)

This dynasty was very short lived ; the last king having retired from Delhi, power was assumed by Bahlūl Lūdī, the founder of the new dynasty. The last repre-

sentative of the Sayyid Dynasty lived at Badā'ūn for thirty years, thus causing the town to rise into prominence as a new centre of Muslim learning.

THE LŪDĪ DYNASTY (855-930/1451-1526)

Bahlūl Lūdī, the founder of the new dynasty, gave a great impetus to Muslim scholarship during his reign. But under his son Sikandar, the most remarkable ruler of the dynasty, Agra became the Capital of the Empire and made such rapid progress that it soon became a rival of Delhi. It attracted men of letters and arts. This king was so fond of learning that he himself often used to attend the lectures of the learned 'Abd Allāh Tulanbī, an eminent scholar of high philosophical attainments, taking his seat unobtrusively so that his class might not be disturbed.[27]

This 'Abd Allāh originally belonged to the district of Multan, but attracted by the royal patronage, he went to the court of Delhi, where he considerably raised the standard of philosophical studies which, like that of scholastic theology, had formarly been very low. A work of his on logic has come down to us.

Sikandar also attracted to his court at Agra the eminent *Muḥaddith* Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Muḥaqqiq Jalālu 'd-Dīn Dawwānī in philosophy and a pupil of the great traditionist Sakhāwī in *Ḥadīth*. Before his arrival in India only *Fiqh* was studied in this country ; but it was he who greatly encouraged the study of *Ḥadīth*. His pupil Abu-'l-Fatḥ of Thanesar, who was one of the teachers of 'Abdu 'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī was also well-versed in this branch of Islamic learning.[28] Among other authors who flourished during the reign of this

[27] Tadhkirh, 101.

[28] Bada'uni, III, 129.

dynasty mention may be made of Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Sa'du 'd-Dīn of Delhi who wrote books on *Fiqh*.

It may be pointed out here that the Lūdī Dynasty was not the only Muslim ruling house in India in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Muslim India was then divided into several kingdoms, most of them patronised Islamic learning and produced some Arabic scholars and writers. For a survey of Arabic scholarship and authorship, we have to refer to those kingdoms one by one.

PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES OF INDIA

Stanley Lane-Poole says in his *Mohammadan Dynasties* that "the Empire of Moḥammad b. Tughlaq included the whole of Hindūstān, together with Telingana and other districts in the Deccan. Before his death the more distant provinces began to grow into independence, and soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century the greater part of his dominions was in the hands of seven provincial Moḥammadan dynasties, besides the Hindu Rājās."[29] Now we take them up one by one.

GOVERNORS AND KINGS OF BENGAL (599-984/1202-1576)

Bengal being much more remote from Arabia than any other part of India is, it is but natural that this province should have produced fewer Arabic authors of eminence. Moreover, its Muslim rulers took up the cause of the vernacular from the very beginning and so the Muslim authors of Bengal generally adopted Persian and Bengali as the vehicle of their thought and the medium of their composition. In this land

[29] Mohammadan Dynasty, p. 304.

Lakhnawatī and Murshidābād were the chief centres of Islamic studies. In later times Būhār, a village in the district of Bardāwn, also rose in prominence as a Muslim educational centre, where the intellectual magnet of Lucknow, 'Abdu 'l-'Alī, better known as Baḥru 'l-'ulūm (the ocean of learning) and his pupils lectured for some time.

The Governors and Kings of Bengal exercised their sway over Bihar also. No works of its early Arabic writers have come down to us ; but we have records of several authors of Bihar who flourished during the Mughal period. A reference will be made to some of them at the proper place.

SHARQĪ KINGDOM OF JAWNPŪR
(796-905/1394-1500)

The Sharqī dynasty, though short-lived, patronised learning and education to such a degree that Jawnpūr continued to be a great seat of Islamic studies long after the kingdom had been overthrown by the Imperial Dynasty. Shāh-Jahān used to call it "Shīrāz-i-Hind". One zealous king of this house, Ibrāhīm Sharqī, was a great patron of learning and was very fond of the company of learned men. The following anecdote, given by Firishtah,[80] illustrates the high esteem in which he held scholars and men of letters. Qāḍī Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī, an eminent scholar and author of the age, once fell seriously ill, and the king went to visit him. While sitting by the bed of the patient, he asked for a glass of water, and when it was handed over to him, he passed it three times around the learned invalid's head and then drank it, praying thus ; "O God ! let me endure all the troubles that my Qāḍī is destined to meet,

[80]Firishtah, II, 595.

and restore him to health." This scholar, besides being a good theologian and jurist, was also a great grammarian and philologist and has left several works. Another author of this period is Ilāh-dād Jawnpūrī. But perhaps the most famous scholar that Jawnpūr has produced was Muḥammad Jawnpūrī (d. 910/1505) who, having claimed to be Mahdiyy-i-maw'ūd (the promised Mahdī) founded a new sect in Islām, the adherents of which are still found in Jaipur state and the Deccan.

During the Mughal period, many scholars and writers arose from Jawnpūr, such as 'Abdu 'l-Awwal (d. 968), Mullā Maḥmūd (d. 1062/1651) who was a great philosopher, 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd (d. 1083/1672), Mullā Jīwan (d. 1130/1718) etc. All of them have left good works. Amongst those scholars who shared jointly the composition of the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*, we find some learned men of Jawnpūr also such as Mullā Ḥāmid, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Jalālu 'd-Dīn etc.

The remnants of the past literary glory of this city are still to be found in the neighbouring towns. Chiryākot and A'ẓamgarh, for instance, are still noted for learning. While the former has produced several scholars such as Qāḍi 'Aṭā Rasūl, Qāḍī 'Alī Akbar, Muḥd. Fārūq and 'Ināyat Rasūl, the latter has recently become a prominent centre of Islamic studies in India, through the efforts of the late Mawlānā Shiblī, one of the greatest scholars of Modern India who established here an academy called Dāru 'l-Muṣannifīn (home of authors) to which scholars resort from all parts of India.

THE KINGDOM OF MĀLWA (804-937/1401-1530)

The kings of Mālwa were great patrons of learning, especially Sulṭān Maḥmūd extended his patronage to scholars and learned men in his dominion. Among the

men of letters belonging to Mālwa mention may be made here of one Shāh Aḥmad Sharʻī Chandairī (d. 928/1521) who was both a Ṣūfī and a scholar. The two couplets which he composed in Arabic in reply to the two, versified by the great Zamakhsharī, the author of the *Kashshāf* have come down to us.[31]

THE KINGDOM OF GUJARĀT (799-980/1396-1572)

Aḥmad Shāh I founded the city of Aḥmadābād which soon became the capital of the kingdom and rose into prominence as a seat of learning where a large number of the literati and doctors of law were attracted by the generosity of the rulers. Before this kingdom was founded, pilgrims to the Ḥijāz generally travelled overland in preference to using the sea route, but when the rulers of Gujarāt grew more powerful and their sway extended up to the coast, they organised the sea traffic and thereby greatly facilitated the pilgrimage and attracted many 'Arab scholars to Aḥmadābād and the Deccan States. Hence the growth of Aḥmadābād as an important seat of Islamic learning.

During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh I, Nūru 'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Sayyid Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥd. and a *Muḥaddith*, migrated from Persia to Aḥmadābād. Another scholar who came to Gujarāt was Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Muḥd. Mālikī upon whom the king conferred the title of *Maliku 'l-Muḥaddithīn* (the king of traditionists). Both of them gave a great impetus to the study of *Ḥadīth* among the Muslims of Gujarāt. Mention may be made here of a third foreign scholar, Ibnu 'd-Damāminī, a native of Egypt, who came to India and composed some works for Aḥmad Shāh I.

Due to the facilities of communication between

[31]Tadhkirah, 84.

Arabia and Gujarāt, the latter produced, during this period, many Arabic authors of repute. such as 'Alī b. Aḥmad Mahā'imī (d. 835/1432) who wrote a commentary on the *Qur'ān* and a book on *Fiqh*, Qāḍī Chakan (d. 920/1514) who composed a compendium on *Fiqh*, Muḥd. b. Ṭāhir of Pattan (d. 986/1578) the author of an important dictionary of *Ḥadīth* etc. There was an author attached to the court of this kingdom who deserves special menion. He is 'Abd Allah Muḥd. b. Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Nahrwālī al-Ulughkhānī, called Ḥājjī Dabīr (d. after 1020/1611) and wrote the history of Gujarāt which has been edited in three volumes by Sir Deneson Ross, who has added a valuable introduction to it.

Aḥmadābād continued to produce Arabic authors long after the kingdom had been annexed by the Mughals. Among such authors, we may make mention of Sh. Wajīhu 'd-Dīn (d. 998/1589), Sayyid Ṣibghat Allāh Barūjī, 'Abddu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūs (d. 1038/1628) and Nūru 'd-Dīn Gujarātī (d. 1155/1742). All of them have left several works.

THE KINGDOM OF KHĀNDĪSH (801-1008/1399-1599)

Burhānpur, the capital of this kingdom was not behind in literary advancement and produced such scholars as 'Alī Muttaqī (d. 975/1567), the author of the *Kanzu 'l-'Ummāl*, Shāh Faḍl Allāh known as Nā'ib-i-Rasūl Allāh (d. 1005/1596) and Qāḍī Naṣīru 'd-Dīn (d. 1031/1621), whose son Shaykh Niẓām Burhānpurī was an eminent jurist under whose supervision the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī* was compiled by the order of Awrangzīb.

THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM (748-933/1347-1526)

Many scholars and theologians were attached to the court of this dynasty. Amongst them Mullā 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī Ṣadr, and Najmu 'd-Dīn Muftī may be mentioned here[32]; but the author whose Arabic works have come down to us is the well-known Saint of the Deccan Sayyid Muḥd. known as Gīsū-Daraz, a disciple of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Ghirāgh-i-Dihlī. He was held in great esteem and reverance by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. As for sometime the Bahmanids' sway extended to the Arabian sea, the 'Arab scholars of Sūrat and Mahā'im enjoyed the patronage of this dynasty.

THE FIVE DECCAN DYNASTIES

The decline of the Bahmanī kingdom was followed by the rise of five Deccan kingdoms of which three—the 'Ādil Shāhī House of Bījāpūr, the Quṭb Shāhī House of Golkanda and the Niẓām Shāhī House of Aḥmadnagar—are worthy of mention.

I. THE 'ĀDIL SHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF BIJĀPUR (895-1097/1489-1686)

This House was noted for its patronage of learning and possessed a magnificent library containing a valuable collection of manuscripts, some of which are now in the India Office Library, London.[33] Bījāpūr also attracted scholars from Arabia. Among them mention may be made of one Ḥasan b. 'Alī Shadqam (d. 1046/1636) who was an 'Arab and in his youth he came to India and attached himself to this Court.

[32]Firishtah, See the account of Ahmad Shah Bahmani.

[33]Loth Cat. of Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library (Preface).

He was an author and a poet. Anothar scholar worthy of note is Zaynu 'd-Dīn al-Ma'barī who dedicated his *Tuḥfatu 'l-Mujāhidīn* to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

II. QUṬB SHĀHĪ KINGDOME OF GOLKANDAH (918-1098/1512-1687)

Some of tho kings of this line also attracted to their courts several scholars from Arabia, amongst whom was the father of Ibn Ma'ṣūm, the author of the *Sulāfatu 'l-'aṣr* and of several other works. It was in fact due to the generosity of this house that Ibn Ma'ṣūm himself came to India from Arabia. He has given a vivid account of his voyage in a book which has come down to us.

III. THE NIẒĀM SHĀHĪ KINGDOD OF AḤMADNAGAR (896-1004/1490-1595)

This House likewise attracted some Arabian scholars who dedicated their works to its rulers. Aḥmadnagar also produced some learned men. Amongst them mention may be made of Mullā 'Abdu 'n-Nabī who is the author of several works.

In this connection it should be noted that Southern India, on account of its geographical position and of the literary zeal of its rival kingdoms, had great opportunity for attracting to itself scholars from Arabia, and just as the Mughal courts had attached to them many poets and scholars of Persia, so the courts of the Deccan kingdoms extended their patronage to the poets and scholars of Arabia.

KASHMĪR

It was Shāh Mirzā b. Ṭāhir of Khurāsān who introduced Islām into Kashmīr in the 14th century.

He came to Kashmīr in 715/1315 and entered the service of the then ruling Hindu Prince. He soon became so popular and influential that he not only rose to the highest position in the state, but also he got hold of the royal throne. His grandson Sulṭān Sikandar was one of the most powerful kings of Kashmīr. His son, Sulṭān Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn (827-877/1423-1472) ruled the country gloriously for more than fifty years. He founded towns and built bridges and forts. He also enlarged and beautified the city of Srinagar, which was his capital. This country continued to be ruled by his descendants and successors until it was conquered by Akbar the Great, in 995/1586.

The first scholar and author of Kashmīr who is worthy of notice is Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī (d. 786/1384), who, originally a resident of Hamadhān, migrated to Kashmīr and settled there. He composed several works in Arabic, some of which have come down to us. His son, Sayyid Muḥd. was also an author. Amongst the authors next to them, mention may be made of Raḍī Al-Dīn (d. 960/1253), Mullā Fīrūz (973/1565) and Muḥammad Ya'qūb who is reported to have met Ibn Ḥajar and to have received from him permission to narrate *Ḥadīth*.[84] He wrote several works in Arabic, but unfortunately none of them seems to have come to us. His two pupils, Khwājah Zaynu 'd-Dīn 'Alī and Mullā Shangarf were also scholars and are also said to have met the above mentioned Ibn Ḥajar. Later on, this country produced many authors such as Mullā Amīn (1109/1697), Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin (1119/

[84]If the dates of his birth and death as given in the Tadhkirah -i-'Ulama', 978/1570 and 1003/1594 respectively, are correct, he could have met neither Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani (d. 852/1448) nor Ibn Hajar al-Haythami (d. 973/1468).

1707) and Nūr Muḥammad Bābā (1195/1780). One Qāḍī Ḥaydar Kashmīrī joined the army of Aurangzīb who first appointed him a tutor to some of his sons and then a Qāḍī at Delhi. The emperor was so impressed by his scholarship and sense of justice that he (the emperor) conferred upon him the title of Qāḍī Khān.

MUGHAL DYNASTY: FIRST TWO EMPERORS (932-946/1525-1539)

Both Bābur and Humāyūn were patrons of learning. Many scholars, Indian as well as foreign, were attached to their courts. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* contains a list of those saints and learned men who flourished in their times but so far as is known to the present author their Arabic works have become scarce.

THE AFGHĀN DYNASTY (946-962/1525-1555).

Shīr Shāh Sūrī and his son Salīm Shāh both were interested in Islamic learning and education and patronized men of letters, amongst whom mention may be made of Shaykh Budh or Budhdhan of Bihār whom Shīr Shāh held in great esteem. He wrote a commentary on the *Irshād fi 'n-Naḥw* of Shihābu'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī. During Shīr Shāh's time, Nārnawl, a town in the Eastern Rājputānā, further rose into prominence as a seat of Islamic learning. Mention may be made of 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī who was a favourite of Salīm Shāh. This scholar was afterwards attached to the court of Humāyūn and then to that of Akbar. He received the title Shaykhu 'l-Islām and Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk from Humāyūn. He was an author of some books.

THE MUGHAL DYNASTY (AGAIN) (962-1275/1555-1857)

It may be observed here that the literary activities in Arabic increased in quality as well as quantity with each succeeding period of history. Thus under the

Mughal dynasty which represents the last epoch of Muslim rule in this country we find a larger number of Arabic authors than under any other dynasty which had ruled India. Some of the authors of this period have acquired name and fame even outside India and their works are greatly appreciated in Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. Amongst such authors mention may be made here of Faydī, 'Abdu'l-Haqq of Delhi. 'Abdu'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot, Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām and Muhibb Allāh of Bihār.

After this general remark about the Mughal dynasty as a whole, we may take up the reigns of the important emperors of the House.

About Akbar there is a controversy as to whether he was literate or not; there is no doubt, however, that he was ignorant of Arabic. Yet he was certainly one of the greatest patrons of learning in India, and a large number of scholars, well versed in variuos arts and sciences, were attached to his magnificent court. The *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* all contain lists of the saints and learned men of his reign. Faydī, the poet laureate, had a wonderful mastery over the Arabic language, as is proved by his works, such as the *Sawāṭi'u 'l-Ilhām* and *Mawārid al-Kilam*, written throughout without the use of dotted letters. Nūr Allāh Shustarī was an eminent scholar of the Shī'ite school and the author of several works. During Akbar's reign Mīr Kalān, the traditionist, came to India from Herat. Akbar put him in charge of the education of his son Salīm.

Jahāngīr, unlike his father, was well educated and also extended his patronage to scholars and learned men. The *Iqbāl Nāmah* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* contain lists of the literati of his reign. Here special mention

may be made of 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaqq of Delhi who is credited with having encouraged the study of *Hadīth* among Indian Muslims and of *shaykh* Aḥmad Sarhindī who is rightly called *mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī* as. he infused a new life into the Muslims of the second millennium and successfully counteracted the heretic activities of 'Akbar the Great.

But Shāhjahān was even more learned than his father, besides being of a religious turn of mind. He therefore gave a great impetus and encouragement to orthodox learning, and many scholars and learned men flourished during his long and prosperous reign, of whom Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī, Nūr al-Ḥaqq, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī, 'Abd al-Rashīd, 'Abd al-Bāqī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad are the most famous. All of them are authors of several books.

'Ālamgīr was still a greater scholar and more pious and religious. He earnestly promoted the education of Muslims and the diffusion of Islamic learning throghout his empire.

Besides, he appointed a committee of learned theologians under the leadership of Shaykh Niẓām, to compose a compendium on the Ḥanafī *Fiqh* and spent an enormous amount of money on this enterprise. This work is the *Fātāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, better known outside India as *al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah.* Some of the scholars who flourished in his reign are Mullā Jīwan, Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, Mīr Zāhid, and Quṭb al-Dīn Sihālawī all of whom have several works to their credits.

With the death of 'Ālamgīr, the power and glory of the Mughal Empire began to decline. Bahādur Shāh was fond of the company of learned men, but Muḥammad Shāh indulged shamefully in debauchery and luxury, and the succeeding kings had no power. But it is curious

to note that in spite of the rapid decay of the Mughal power after the death of 'Ālamgīr and notwithstanding the lack of peace and order in the coun ry, this period produced a large number of eminent scholars, amongst whom we amy mention specially, 'Abd al-Ialīl Bilgrāmī, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Shī'ī Mujtahid, Salām Allāh Muḥaddith, Shāh Walī Allāh, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abd al-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm, Faḍl Imām, Faḍl Ḥaqq Khayrābādī, Turāb 'Alī, Muḥammad Ḥasan, Muḥammad Mubīn, Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī, Ḥamd Allāh, and Aḥmad 'Alī of Sandīla.

Arabic authorship continued unabated in India even after the final fall of the Mughal Dynasty in 1857. Although persent work is not concerned with the literary activites of the subsequent period, it will not be out of place here, if special mention be made of authors like 'Abdu 'l-Ḥayy Firangīmaḥallī and Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan of Bhopāl who have left a large number of Arabic works.

It may be pointed here that during the Mughal period also there arose several new seats of Islamic learning such as Siyālkot, Lucknow, Gūpāma'u, Khayrābād, Rāmpūr etc.

From all that has been said above about the literary activities of the Mughal period, it may be concluded that it was the golden age of Muslim India, also from the point of view of the development and importance of Arabic authorship.

In the end it may also be noted that the East India Company contributed a great deal to the cause of Muslim learning in India by the establishment of the famous *Madrasah* at Calcutta.

CHAPTER I

CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE DURING THE PRE-GHAZNAWID PERIOD.

The most important contribution of India to Arabic literature undoubtedly begins with the Ghaznawid period, the tenth century A.D.; but she also certainly made some contributions to Arabic, in respect of vocabulary and otherwise, from a much earlier period. However insignificant they may be, they deserve notice. But before enumerating them, some account may be given of the relations between India and Arabia during the pre-Ghaznawid period.

Legendary Relation.

Legend speaks of relations between these two countries, before the dawn of history. In the *Ḥadīth* literature there are many traditions which refer to the legend that Adam, the father of mankind, being driven out of Paradise, alighted on the peak, called after him, of a mountain in Ceylon.[1] When his repentance was accepted by God, he was brought to 'Arafāt near Mecca where he met Eve who had been thrown down at Jiddah. These traditions are not only found in the religious literature of Islām but also in works of history and geography. For example, we find this legend in the works of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), Maqdisī (d. 375/985) and Yāqūt-al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1228).[2]

[1] Tabarī, *T'arīkh*, I., 119 and following pages and Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Commentary on the verse? I. 28.

[2] Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif* (Gottingen), p. 9. Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 13 and Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, V., 74.

In the legend there is a controversy about the place of the death of Adam. According to one or two traditions he is said to have died in Ceylon.[3]

He is also said to have made many pilgrimages, not less than forty, to Mecca, going back to Ceylon every time.[4]

It is also asserted that the Black Stone of the *Ka'bah*, in the form of a brilliant ruby, fell from Paradise along with Adam and was carried to Mecca when he was ordered by God to build the *Ka'bah*.[5]

The story of Hābīl and Qābīl is said to have taken place in India according to one tradition.[6]

According to this legend, Arabia and India have had intercourse with each other from the very beginning of human life on the earth.

Relations of Historical Truth.

Though political relations between India and Arabia were first established as late as the seventh century after Christ, yet these two countries, entirely different from each other in race and language, had been connected through trade from so early a time as the commencement of the seventh century before Christ, or perhaps even from prehistoric times.[7]

Two of the three routes by which trade was carried in ancient times between India and the West, passed through Arabia. The first route ran from the mouth of the Indus and up the Euphrates, at the point where the road branches off to Antioch and the Levantine ports. This route attained

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3 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, *Subhat al-Marjān* (سبحة المرجان) (Bombay), Ist Section.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, first chapter.

high importance during the golden days of the Babylonian Empire, with the decay of which it fell into oblivion.

The second route, more important than the first, lay from the Indian coast to that of Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt and from there, passing along the Red Sea coast, to Syria and thence to Europe, either directly from the Syria coast or *via* Egypt and Alexandria. This route was of great importance and the prosperity of South-west Arabia in ancient times was largely due to it, and it formed a highway of commercial traffic until the Ptolemies established an overland route from India to Alexandria.[8]

This route, passing from Yaman to Syria through the Ḥijāz, has been referred to in the Qur'ān as *Imām Mubīn* (A Manifest Road).[9] This *Imām Mubīn* has been generally taken by the commentators to be the road passing from Yaman to Syria. Another Qur'ānic verse, referring to the commercial caravans of Sabā, throws some light on the prosperity of this route. This verse (XXXIV, 18) is as follows :—

> " And We made continuous towns between them
> " (the people of Sabā) and the towns which
> " We had blessed—(the Syrian towns)—
> " and We apportioned the journey therein.
> " Travel through them nights and days."

In this verse, the phrase *Qurā Ẓāhirah* has been explained by Ṭabarī to mean *Qurā Mutawāṣilah* (continuous towns), that is to say, towns lying close to one another.[10] In the Qur'ān there is another reference, though indirect, to this commerce carried by the Quraysh. In verse CVI, 1, لإيلاف قريش ايلافهم رحلة الشتاء والصيف , the summer and winter journeys

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8 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn.), Vol. II, p. 264.

9 Qur'ān, XV, 79.

10 Ṭabarī, *Tafsir*, Part 22nd, p. 58.

mean those made by the Quraysh on the highway called *Imām Mubīn*.[11]

It is certain that Ceylon was early known to the 'Arabs on account of its pearl fisheries and trade in precious stones, and 'Arab merchants had formed commercial establishments three centuries before the rise of Islām.[12] When and how the Muslims reached the island is unknown. From Balādhurī it appears that some Muslim merchants had been there long before the attack on Sind by Muḥammad b. Qāsim. The cause of this attack has been stated by Balādhurī to have been vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debul, of vessels which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with Muslim orphans.[13]

As to the political connection of India with Arabia, it is sufficient here to point out that the first invasion of the Indian coast by the 'Arabs was at so early a date as the reign of the second Caliph (13-23/634-644.) But the 'Arab inroads did not penetrate far until 710 A.D., when Multan with the country of Sind fell before Muḥammad b. Qāsim during the reign of Walīd (86-96/705-715).

Contribution of India to Arabic Literature.

After the above account of the relations between India and Arabia before the Ghaznawid period, it will be easy to make a survey of the contribution of India to Arabic litera-ture during this period.

(1) To begin with, the legend of Adam's alighting on the mountain of Sarandīp may be said to be, in a way, a contribution of India to Arabic literature. When Ceylon was for the first time visited by the Muslims, they, having heard the local traditions about the depression in the peak, might have remoulded them to suit their own faith.

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11 Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Part 30th, p. 197.

12 *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, I, 838.

13 Balādhurī, *Buldān*, 435.

(2) The commercial intercourse between these two countries introduced many Indian words into the Arabic language. The merchandise imported from India into Arabia consisted of perfumes, spices, cloths, etc. 'Arabs naturally borrowed words for these articles from Indian languages. Thus, words such as *ṣandal*, *misk* (musk), *kāfūr* (camphor), *qaranful* (cloves), *filfil* (pepper), *hail* (cardamom), *zanjabīl* (ginger), *jā'ifal* (nutmeg), *nārjīl* (cocoanut), *mawz* (banana), *limūn* (lemon), *tanbūl* (betel), etc., are Arabicised forms of the Indian words. In some cases the word *Hindī* was added to the words which already existed in Arabic, *e.g.*, *'ūd Hindī*, *qusṭ Hindī*, *tamr Hindī*, etc. The last word has become 'tamarind' in English.

Indian cloths also used to go to Yaman and thence to the Ḥijāz. The Arabic words *shās* (muslin), *shīt* (calico) and *fūṭah* (striped cloth), come under this category.[14]

Arabian navigation to the Indian coast induced half a dozen words of Indian origin into Arabic travels and geographical works, *e.g.*, the word *bārijah* (plu. *bawārij*), meaning 'pirates', is the Arabicised form of the Indian word *berā*, and the word *dawnīj* (plu. *dawānīj*), meaning 'small boat', owes its origin to the Indian word *dongī*.[15]

Jurjī Zaydān, the well-known modern Arabic scholar of Egypt, says that the words *ṣubḥ* (dawn), *ḍaw'* (light) and

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14 (i) *Tāj-al-'Arūs*, under the word *fūtah* (فوطه).

(ii) Muhammad Sulaymān, *Ard-al-Qur'ān* (ارض القرآن), II, Chapter on 'Arabic Language.'

15 For the word *bārijah* see Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 102 and the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, ed. Paris, p. 114.

For the next word see Yāqūt al-Hamawi's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, under the word *qays*, Vol. VII, (taken from Sayyid Muhammad Sulaymān's *Arab-o-Hind ke Ta'alluqāt*, p. 63, where the remaining four words are also mentioned.)

bahā' (light), seem to be of Sanskrit origin, as these words are not found in the sister languages of Arabic.[16]

The word *ṭūbā* that occurs in the Qur'ān is said by some Arabic scholars to be the name of a paradise, in some Indian language.[17]

An Indian sword was very much valued in Arabia; the 'Arabs called it *muhannad*, *Hindī* and *Hindawānī*, which words frequently occur in Arabic literature. The very word *Hindī* has fascinated 'Arabs a good deal. They have used it as a lovely name for their women.

(3) Another debt which Arabic literature owes to India is the introduction of her numerals into Arabic, in which language they are still called *al-Ruqūm al-Hindiyyah*. In Arabic writing letters only were used in place of numerals up to the eighth century A.D., when this Indian system passed to the Arabians, probably along with the astronomical tables, brought to Baghdād by an Indian ambassador in 773 A.D. The system was explained in Arabic in the early parts of the ninth century by the famous scholar Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī and from that time it continued, though at first slowly, to be used throughout the Arabian world.[18] Al-Bīrūnī acknowledges that the Muslim system of numerals is derived from the best of their (the Hindus) systems.[19] It is a well-known fact that this system passed from the Arabians to the West, where these numerals were known as 'Arabic Numerals.'

(4) Another contribution of India to Arabic literature is astronomical material. Undoubtedly, the 'Arabs had their own science of astronomy, probably taken from the Chaldæans, but during the second century of the *Hijra*;

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16 His *Adāb al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, Vol. I, 41.

17 *Qāmūs* and *Tāj al-'Arūs*, under the word *tūbā* (طوبى).

18 *Encycl. Brit.* (11th ed.), XIX, 867.

19 Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, p. 82.

when the 'Abbāsid caliphate was at its zenith and when extraordinary efforts were made to translate foreign books into Arabic, we find much evidence of the influence of Indian culture on Arabian civilisation. Many books were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic. Of the astronomical works, the *Sindhind* was the first book to attract the attention of the 'Arabs. It was first translated by al-Fazārī (d. 154/770) and a second time by the already mentioned Muḥammad b. Mūsā of Khwārizm Lastly, al-Bīrūnī wrote a book on the *Sindhind* with the title of *Jawāmi'u 'l-mawjūd li khwāṭiri 'l-hunūd fi ḥisābi 't-tanjim* (جوامع الموجود لخواطر الهنود في حساب التنجيم).[20]

(5) Another equally important contribution of India to Arabic literature is medicine.

Charaka and Susruta occupy the highest position as the medical authorities in the Sanskrit language. Their works were rendered into Arabic at the close of the eighth century A.D., and quoted as authorities by the celebrated Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 3 20/932).[22] Ibn Nadīm gives not less than fifteen names of those Indian authors whose works had been translated into Arabic by the time of the composition of his *Fihrist*.[23] None of these renderings are known to exist except a small book of Shānāq on poisons. The Berlin Library contains a MS. of it.[24] The original text was, as stated in the preface of the work, first translated into Persian by Abū Ḥātim al-Balkhī for Khālid al-Barmakī in 200/815 and was afterwards rendered into Arabic by al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī in 210/825). Ḥājjī Khalifah has also mentioned it under the title of the *Kitāb al-Sumūm*.[25] The MS. is small and contains only 84 pages. It is

20 Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. Notes by the Editor, p. 370.

21 Macdonnell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 434.

22 Ibid., p. 427.

23 Ibn Nadīm, p. 271.

24 Berlin Catalogue, No. 6411.

25 Khalīfah, V., 96.

divided into four sections (*Maqālāt*). The first *maqālah* is an introduction in which the author says how doctors have invented various compounds of deadly poisons to save the sacred lives of kings. To him, the usage of these poisons is not allowed for anybody except kings. The second chapter deals with the symptoms of the effects of various poisons. The third chapter describes various methods of preparing deadly poisons. For instance, he says that a baby swallow should be devoured by a poisonous snake; then both of them should be shut up in a copper kettle and buried under a cow-dung hill. After a certain number of days, when they are thoroughly decomposed and fermented, the mixture is to be dried up in the sun. A very small quantity of it is sure to kill any man who happens to eat it. The last chapter contains the remedies and antidotes. The author has also given a prescription of an antidote which renders any man that eats it poison-proof.

On the last page the scribe has written that at the instance of the Caliph, the device of bringing up a girl in such a way that whosoever happens to cohabit with her is sure to die at once, has been omitted on account of its being ad act of barbarism. The work is of interest as showing the various methods of destroying human life in ancient times.

(6) Two story books, one the *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* and the other the *Alf laylah wa laylah*, enjoy an unrivalled position in the domain of light literature. The former is an Indian story which was first translated from Persian into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffā in the eighth century A.D. The subject-matter of the latter was also, for the greater part, of Indian origin.[26] Ibn Nadīm has given several names of story books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic.[27]

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26 (i) *Encycl. of Islām*, under *Alf laylah wa laylah.*

(ii) Prof. Macdonald, J. R. A. S., 1924, 353.

27 Ibn Nadīm, p. 305.

All such books may be regarded as a part of the contribution of India to Arabic literature.

(7) The game of chess which plays no mean part in Arabic literature is also a contribution of India. "The best authorities agree that Chess existed in India before it was known to have been played anywhere else. The word *Shatranj* is a foreign word among Persians and Arabians while its natural derivation from the Sanskrit word *Chaturanga* is obvious"[28] Many metaphors and similes have been taken from chess in both Arabic and Persian literatures.

(8) *Al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Hind* and other similar works may be included in the list of the contributions of India to Arabic literature, not because the author is regarded by some Arabic writers of repute as a resident of Sind, but because the whole subject-matter of the works has been taken from India. The name of the author is so associated with India that we can hardly think of Arabic literature produced in that country without thinking of him. Whatever reputation he enjoys as a great scholar of astronomy and mathematics is due largely to the benefits he derived from the writings and works of Indian scholars. Apart from the patronage that he received from the first Sulṭān of Muslim India and his son, and apart from the facilities given to him by the Ghaznawids, it is impossible to ignore his great obligation to Indian scholars and teachers, at least as far as his knowledge of Indian sciences is concerned.

(9) Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī' b. Ṣubayḥ was what is called in the language of Islamic learning *Taba' Tābi'īn* (*i.e.*, one of the

[28] *Encycl. Brit.*, under "Chess".

* It may be somewhat anachronic to make mention of al-Bīrūnī's contribution to Arabic literature under the pre-Ghaznawid period; but as he is generally not included among the authors of India, a reference of a general type to him and his works could have been made in the present chapter only.

companions of the companions of the Prophet's companions.) He is, according to an authority, said to be the first Muslim to write a book.[29] He was a reliable transmitter of *Ḥadīth*. He migrated in his later days to Sind where he died in 160/776.[30] He is mentioned by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Raḥmān 'Alī and Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan as the first Muslim scholar who lived in India.[31]

Sind was, during the first three centuries of the *Hijra*, an 'Arab colony where people of more than one tribe settled. These domiciled 'Arabs must have maintained Arabic as their mother tongue for a long time, and there must have sprung up many a poet among them. But it is a matter of great regret that no accounts whatever of such intellectual activities of Sindian 'Arabs and of those natives who must have learnt the language of their rulers, have come down to us. The *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and other similar books do not throw any light upon this matter. But it may be conjectured that some migrating 'Arabs must have written some books in Arabic. Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentions the *Ta'rīkh-i-Sind* among the histories written by the Muslims, but does not give the name of its author.[32] Perhaps it was written by some Sindī 'Arab. The author of the *Chāch Nāmah* says that he has taken the material for his book from an Arabic history written by the ancestor of the man who asked him to render it into Persian. Perhaps this Arabic history of Sind is the same as that to which Khalīfah refers. In the absence of any positive evidence and authority it is impossible to say anything definite.

Just as some 'Arabs settled in Sind, similarly many Sindians were domiciled in Arabia, either as slaves or free

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29 Khalīfah, I, 80.

30 Azād, *Subhah* (سبحة), p, 26.

31 Ibid., 26 ; Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirah* (تذكرة), 3 ; Siddīq Hasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, 889.

32 Khalīfah, I, 133.

men. Of them also very little is known. Sam'ānī gives only two names under the *Nisbah 'Sindī'*: one is Abū Ma'shar and the other is the poet Abū 'Aṭā' Aflaḥ Sindī.[33] The former was a *Muḥaddith* (traditionist) and was regarded as an authority on the history of the Prophet. The high position that he held as a scholar may be judged from this fact that when he died, the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd accompanied his funeral procession, and led the prayers himself. Abū 'Aṭā' Aflaḥ will be spoken of at some length later on in connection with the contribution of India to Arabic poetry.

Sam'ānī also gives several names under the *Nisbah Manṣūrī* (of Manṣūrah, Bhakkar), *Daybulī* (of Daybul, Thath), *Lāhūrī* and *Hindī*.[34] All these men are said by Sam'ānī to be scholars and traditionists who transmitted *Ḥadīth* to others.

When Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Maqdisī visited India during the latter part of the tenth century, he also found many traditionists in Sind. He specially makes mention of a certain Abū Muḥammad Manṣūrī who was a *Muḥaddith* and an author of several books.[35]

Now all these *Ḥadīth* that the above mentioned Indians and those who settled in India transmitted to others, and their works on *Ḥadīth* may be taken as the first contribution of India to Arabic literature as far as the science of *Ḥadīth* is concerned.

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33 Sam'ānī, *Kitāb-al-Ansāb*, p. 313-b.

N.-B.—Jurjī Zaydān has given the name of another Sindī poet Kushājim. He definitely says that he was an Indian by origin (*Vide* his *History of Arabic Literature*, Vol. II., 251). But this statement of his seems to be wrong, on the authority of Sam'ānī, who says that 'Sindī' is both an adjective (al-ism al-mansūb) and a name and gives the names of Kushājim and Rajā al-Hindī, the traditionist, as examples of the latter case, (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 314-a.)

34 Ibid., 543, 236-b, 497 and 592.

35 Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim* (احسن التقاسيم), 479.

Abū 'Aṭā' Aflaḥ Sindī, mentioned above along with Kushājim, the traditionist, was a *Mawla* (client) of Banū Asad and was a good poet, which may be judged from this fact that Abū Tammām Ḥabīb thought fit to quote three lines of his in the beginning of the first chapter of his *Ḥamāsah*.

The author of *Kitāb al-Aghānī* has devoted no less than five pages to him.[36] He was one of those poets who sang in the praise of the Umayyads. He flourished during the latter part of the Umayyad period and outlived his patrons to see the time of the first two 'Abbāsid Caliphs. He died in the reign of Manṣūr. He tried to sing equally enthusiastically in the praise of his new masters, but they would not accept any poem from him after his having lavishly praised their past enemies. Aflaḥ was his name and Abū 'Aṭā' his *kunyah*. There was something wrong with his tongue. He could not pronounce such letters as Sh (ش), J (ج), etc. His poems were admired, but as his tongue was defective he could not recite them well. Once a certain Sulaymān was so pleased with him that he gave him a good-looking boy named 'Aṭā' to recite his poems for him. This boy proved of great help to him, and the poet was so satisfied with his services that he adopted him as a son and took his *kunyah* from him. People used to enjoy the defect of his tongue, but he was very sensitive about it, and did not allow them to ask him to pronounce any particular word. The story of the device of Ḥammād, the famous narrator, by which he could succeed in making him pronounce some particular words, need not be mentioned here.

The poems of Abū 'Aṭā' Aflaḥ Sindī may be taken as the contribution of India to Arabic poetry during the pre-Ghaznawid period.

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36 *Aghānī*, XVI, 81-87.

CHAPTER II

COMMENTARIES ON THE QUR'ĀN

Commentaries on the Qur'ān occupy the first and most important place in Islamic literature, and a large number of Muslim scholars have always regarded it as their pious duty to write exegesis on their holy scriptures. The commentators may be arranged chronologically in the following way:—

I. The Prophet, those Companions of his and those followers of theirs who verbally commented on Qur'ānic verses, but did not commit their comments to writing.

II. Those earliest commentators who for the first time actually wrote something by way of commentary on the Qur'ān, transmitting the verbal comments of the Prophet and of his Companions.

III. The commentators of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Muslim era, among whom the celebrated Ṭabarī stands unrivalled and unsurpassed. Their commentaries, just like the books on *Ḥadīth*, are full of the traditions and sayings, with the complete chain of the narrators.

IV. The commentators of the later period, who have omitted the chain of the narrators, except the final authority, whom they always mention without fail.

V. In the sixth century every commentator wrote his commentary from the particular standpoint in which he specialised. A grammarian, for example, wrote his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer or a Ṣūfī

took another view. Hence various sorts of commentaries were composed during this period. Among these commentators the great Zamakhsharī occupies a high place. His commentary, entitled *al-Kashshāf*, is a scholarly work, composed from a grammatical and rhetorical standpoint, and is the foundation of the later commentaries as far as this aspect is concerned. Many super-commentaries have been written on this work.

VI. The commentators of subsequent centuries, who largely based their commentaries on the previous works of the same nature. Among these commentaries, two works, one known as *Tafsīr-i-Bayḍāwī* and the other as *Jalālayn*, stand very high. The latter owes its fame to its marvellous brevity and conciseness, while the former is a good comprehensive commentary. The importance and value of this commentary may be judged from the fact that so many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on it by scholars of the succeeding ages that no other Qur'ānic commentary enjoys such a celebrity. We shall see later on that several Indian scholars have composed super-commentaries and glosses on it.

The commentaries produced in India belong to the sixth class. Of many Indian works on the Qur'ānic sciences, fifteen deserve notice :—

I.	Commentaries of a general nature ...	... 3
II.	Commentaries written from various standpoints...	4
III.	The principles of Qur'ānic exegesis ..	... 1
IV.	Commentaries purely literary and pedantic	... 2
V.	Glosses and Annotations on previous works	... 3
VI.	Concordances and Indexes ...	... 2
	TOTAL	... 15

I. *Commentaries of a General Nature: Three.*

1. *Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa Taysīr al-Mannān* (تبصير الرحمن وتيسير المنان), better known as *Tafsīr-i-Raḥmānī*, by 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn b. Aḥmad Mahā'imī (d. 835/1431). He belonged to the tribe called Nawā'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the city. 'Alī was an eminent scholar and the author of several works. He belonged to the Shāfi'ī school. This work has been published in two volumes at Ḥaydarābād.*

This commentary is in the nature of what is called *al-Sharḥ al-Mamzūj*, just like the *Jalālayn*, but more comprehensive and of wider scope. It describes briefly all the Qur'ānic stories and the occasion of the revelation of the verses. It also points out the mutual connections of the preceding and following verses.

There are two characteristics which the author has very ably maintained throughout: one is that in the beginning of each *sūrah* he briefly mentions the reason why the *sūrah* is so named; and the other is that he invariably paraphrases *Bismi 'llāh* in each *sūrah* in accordance with the subject-matter of the *sūrah*. For instance, *Bismi 'llāh* in the last *sūrah* is paraphrased in the following ways:—

بسم الله المتجلي باسمائه و صفاته و افعاله في الناس

(I begin in the name of God who is manifest through His names, attributes and actions in regard to man.)

الرحمن بتكميله بعد افاضته نور الوجود عليه

(Who is so merciful as to make him perfect after shedding the light of existence upon him.)

* In the Berlin Library Catalogue, two MSS., Nos. 925 and 931, are described as being composed by a certain Fāḍil-i-Hindī, while MS. No. 870 is said to be the commentary by 'Alī under consideration. I have found out that all these MSS. are different parts of the same work, *Tafsīr-i-Raḥmānī*.

الرحيم بحفظه من شر ما فيه و شرما خرج عنه

(And Who is so compassionate as to protect him from the evil of what is in him and of what has gone out from him.)

The paraphrase of *Bismi 'llāh* in the last *sūrah* but one runs as follows :—

بسم الله المتجلي بكمالاته فى النور الفالق

(In the name of God Who is manifest through His perfections in the day-breaking light.)

الرحمن بإشاعة ذالك النور

(Who is so merciful as to diffuse that light.)

الرحيم باعاذة من عاذبه من الشرور

(And Who is so compassionate as to give refuge to him who seeks refuge in Him from the evils.)

The word *Allāh* in *Bismi 'llāh* is almost invariably followed by *al-Mutajallī bi-Kamālātihī*, which phrase is in turn followed by another, suitable for the subject-matter of the *sūrah*. The words *al-Raḥmān* and *al-Raḥīm* are each followed by a phrase consisting of the *Ḥarf Jār Bā* and its *Majrūr*. No other commentary has, so far as known to the present writer, followed this peculiar way of paraphrasing *Bismi 'llāh*.

2. * *Al-Tafsīr al-Muḥammadī* (التفسير المحمدي), composed by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Miyānjī b. Naṣīr of Gujarāt. He was both a Ṣūfī and a scholar. He is said to have written glosses on the *Tafsīr-i-Bayḍāwī*. He died in 982/1547. His object in writing this commeotary was

* I think this work is identical with an Arabic *tafsīr* entitled *Kāshifu 'l-Haqā'iq wa Qāmūsu 'd-Daqā'iq* (كاشف الحقائق و قاموس الدقائق) by Muhammad b. Ahmad Thāneswarī Gujarātī, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Arabic books and MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf 'Ali (See A-a-20.)

to point out the mutual connections of the Qur'ānic verses—which he asserts that no scholar had done before him. This commentary is not so comprehensive and valuable as the *Tafsīr-i-Raḥmānī*, which he seems to have consulted when he wrote his own.

3. *Tafsīr-i-Maẓharī* (تفسير مظهرى), composed by Qāḍī Thanā' Allāh Pānipatī (1225/1810) and named after Mirzā Jānjānān, the spiritual leader of the author. The Qāḍī was a scholar of repute. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Dihlawī (1239/1823) used to call him the Bayhaqī of India. His *Mālā budd* (a book in Persian on the *Ḥanafī Fiqh*) is well known in India. This commentary consists of seven volumes and is considered to be reliable, representing the orthodox view of the *Ḥanafī* school. Some parts of it have been lithographed in India.

II. Commentaries written from various points of view: Four.

1. *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalāt* (شئون المنزلات) by 'Alī Muttaqī of Burhānpūr (975/1568), a very lerned man who during the latter part of his life left for Mecca and settled down there. He is the author of several books, the best known and most useful being the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*. In this commentary the author has mentioned all the reliable and accepted occasions of the revelation of the Qur'ānic verses, together with grammatical, philological and rhetorical explanations of certain words and phrases, ascribed to some authorites on the subjects concerned. It does not deal with the text verse by verse, but with those verses only about which there are some reliable explanations and causes of revelation.

2. *Tarjamat al-Kitāb* (ترجمة الكتاب) by Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī (1058/1648). He was a descendant of the great Indian Ṣūfī Farīd Shakarganj whose lineage goes back to 'Umar, the second Caliph. He was both a

scholar and a Ṣūfī. He expounded the ideas of Ibn ʻArabī so much so that in India he won the title of ʻthe Ibn ʻArabī of India.' He was a prolific writer and has left several works. He wrote this commentary on the Qur'ān which is also called *al-Marātib al-Arbaʻah.* On this commentary he himself composed glosses also under the title of the *Ḥāshiyat Tarjamati 'l-Qur'ān* (حاشية ترجمة القرآن).
He wrote this commentary entirely from a Ṣūfiistic standpoint, and chiefly from that of *Waḥdatu 'l-wujūd.* Many points in his commentary are found to be deviating from orthodoxy. For instance, he has, like some other thinkers, inferred from the verses, X 90 and 91 that Firʻawn embraced the faith of the Banū Isrā'īl at the time of his being drowned.

3. *Al-Tafsīrāt al-Aḥmadiyyah fī Bayān al-Ayāt al-Sharʻiyyah* (التفسيرات الاحمديه في بيان آلايات الشرعيه), commonly known as *Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadī*, by Aḥmad b. Abū Saʻīd, better known as Mullā Jīwan (d. 1130/1717). That he was a learned scholar may be seen from the fact that he was one of the teachers of Awrangzīb who had a high regard for his erudite learning. His other work is *Nūr al-Anwār,* a commentary on *al-Manār* which is a well known text book on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh.*

The work under consideration is not a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān. It deals only with those verses from which commandments and prohibitions are inferred. He states in the preface that nobody had so far attempted to collect and comment upon those verses from which *Aḥkām* are deduced. In his boyhood he used to hear that al-Ghazālī had collected five hundred verses of this sort, but when he tried to obtain this work he came to know that what he had heard was wrong. Thereupon he resolved to

do this work himself, and as he himself says, commenced it when he was a boy of sixteen years, completed it when he was twenty-one years old, and revised it six years later.

In the beginning he has given a list of all those *sūrahs* from which *Aḥkām* are derived, together with a list of the natures of these injunctions. Those *sūrahs* which contain no *Āyāt al-Aḥkām* are enumerated as being devoid of them (خالية عن الاحكام). The first verse that he begins with is the twenty-seventh of the second *sūrah* which runs :

هو الذي خلق لكم ما في الارض جميعا

(It is He Who has created for you all that is on the earth.) From this verse he infers ان الاباحة اصل في الاشياء , *i.e.*, lawfulness is a root principle in everything. In the last *Juz'* all the *sūrahs* from LXXXVII to the last are devoid of *Āyāt al-Aḥkām*, except *sūrah* No. 108, from which he proves the existence of the heavenly *Ḥawḍ Kawthar*.

4. *Fatḥ al-Khabīr bi-mā lā budd min ḥifẓihī fī 'ilm al-Tafsīr* (فتح الخبير بما لابد من حفظه في التفسير) by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, who was the most celebrated traditionist and theologian of his age in India. He was born in 1114/1702, and at the age of fifteen, when he had completed his education on traditional lines, entered the *Naqshbandī* order under the leadership of his father, and two years later succeeded him in his office. In 1143/1730, he went to Mecca and then to Madīnah where he made the acquaintance of the scholars and traditionists of those places and received a *sanad* and a *khirqah* from the eminent Ṣūfī and *Muḥaddith* Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm at Madīnah. On his return to Delhi he devoted himself to literary and educational pursuits, and wrote a large number of works, dealing with *Ḥadīth* and other branches of Muslim theology. His reputation as a scholar is in no way confined to India. In the history of

Islamic learning in India he stands unrivalled. His greatness lies in his being a scholar well versed in all branches of Islamic literature. He was a Ṣūfī too. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan is right when he says that if Walī Allāh had lived in an early period, he would have been regarded as an *Imām* of his age. Being asked which of the four schools of *Sunnī Fiqh* he belonged to, he said :—"I try my best to combine all the points of agreement in all the schools and in matters of variance I adhere to what is proved by the genuine *Ḥadīth*—which, thank God, I can do. If anybody asks me for a *fatwā*, I give it according to whatever school he wishes." He died in 1176/1762.

In the book under consideration he has collected all those *Ḥadīth* which offer some comments on verses of the Qur'ān. In the *Itqān* of Suyūṭī there is one chapter which contains only those *Ḥadīth* of this sort that have come down from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās through the narration of Ibn 'Alī Ṭalḥah and Ḍaḥḥāk. The *Fatḥ al-Khabīr* includes all those *Ḥadīth* concerned which are regarded as reliable by the authorities. This book is a fifth chapter of another work by the same author, entitled *al-Fawzu 'l-Kabīr fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, which deals with the principles of the Qur'ānic commentary and will be discussed later on. The following is a specimen of the traditional commentary which the *Fatḥ al-Khabīr* contains :—

(*Sūrah* 108) انا اعطينا ک الکوثر - قال الرسول هونهر - شانک عدوک
(*Sūrah* 112) قال المشرکون صف لنا ربک فانزل الله قل هوالله احد

This commentary does not give the chain of narration, while the *Itqān* gives it invariably.

III. *Literary and Pedantic Commentaries : Two.*

1. *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām* (سواطع الالهام) by Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī (1004/1595), the poet-laureate of the court of Akbar. He was a Persian poet of repute and a scholar well versed

in many branches of learning. The mastery that he had over Arabic literature is evidenced from two of his Arabic works, one is the *Mawārid al-Kilam wa Silk Duraru 'l-Ḥikam* and the other this work under consideration, in both of which the author has very skilfully maintained throughout the figure of speech called *San'at-i-Muhmalah.*

It commences with a sort of introduction entitled *Sawāṭi'*, divided into two parts, the first dealing with a short account of the author himself, and the other throwing some light on the Qur'ānic sciences, etc. Each part is subdivided into what is named *Sāṭi'*. All these 'flashes' are of different lengths, varying from one line to thirty lines or so.

The account of the author describes the place of his birth and how he entered the royal service of the king to whose eulogy he devotes two 'flashes'. He has written the longest 'flash' in the praise of his father. At the end of his introduction he has appended a poem in appreciation of his own work.

He has mentioned the names of his father and his brothers in an enigmatical way in order to avoid the dotted letters which they contain. These riddles are very difficult and far-fetched. A man who does not already know those names, can hardly solve them. Even with previous knowledge of the names, it is very difficult to work them out.

Out of nine riddles, six are *mu'ammās* and the remaining three are *lughazes.* The difference between the two terms is that for the former only one answer is correct, while in the case of the latter more than one solution is possible. The author has used the latter device for three names, Abu 'l-Faḍl, Abu Fayḍ Fayḍī (*i.e.*, himself) and Abu 'l-Khayr and has described the significance of these names in words containing undotted letters. The descriptions are not limited in their reference and can be applied to other words of similar meaning also. But this is not

the case with the remaining six, for they can only apply to the names concerned and cannot admit of more than one correct answer. I have been able to solve these six *mu'ammās*, which are given below with the solutions of them.

(1) The name *Mubārak* contains five letters - م - ب - ا - ر - ک which are obtained respectively by اساس العلم (the base, *i.e.*, the last letter of *'ilm*), اصل الروع (the root, *i.e.*, the last letter of *qalb* which is a synonym of *raw'*), مطلع الالہام (the rising place, *i.e.*, the first letter of *ilhām*), راس الرؤس (the head, *i.e.*, the first letter of *ru'ūs*) and امام الکرام (the leader, *i.e.*, the first letter of *kirām*).

(2) For Abū Barakāt he says :

والد عاد اصله اصل الروع مروم دور الاکر و مکرر امدالدھر

The word *wālid* is given as a synonym of *Abū*. Next comes the word *Barakāt*. The letter ب is got from اصل الروع just as in the previous *mu'ammā* ; رکا is obtained by the phrase مروم دور الاکر (that is, the word اکر is to be reversed) and the last letter ت is obtained from مکرر امدالدھر (that is, by doubling the value of the last letter of دھر, which is حرف الراء the numerical value of which is 200, and that of حرف التاء , 400).

(3) The *mu'ammā* for Abu 'l-Makārim is not difficult. وھو مدلول الوالد و الکارم معه, that is to say, it is a synonym of *wālid* followed by *al-makārim*.

(4) The letters of the name, Abū Turāb, are obtained from the first letters of *al-amal*, *al-raw'* (*i.e.*, *al-bāl*), *al-walā'*, *al-rūḥ*, *al-mukarrar*, *al-raw'* , *al-awwal* and *al-marḥ* (*i.e.*, *al-baṭar*). Here the dotted letter ب is obtained by the first letter of *al-bāl* which is a synonym of *al-raw'* and also by the first letter of *al-baṭar* which is a synonym of *al-marḥ* ; and the dotted ت is got by doubling the value of the first letter of *al-rūḥ*.

(5) The letters of the name, Abū Ḥāmid, are obtained by the middle letters of *al-ḥāl*, *al-ṭawd* (*i.e.*, *al-jabal*), *al-ṭawl*, *al-ṣaḥw*, *al-raw'* (*i.e.*, *al-bāl*), *al-samuww* and *al-ḥads*.

(6) The letters of the name, Abū Rāshid, are obtained by the last letters of *al-'ṭā'*, *al-raw'* (*i.e.*, *al-qalb*), *al-hudū*, *al-amr*, *al-rawā'*, *al-ṭams*, *al-marsūm* and *amad al-dahr*.

In the construction of these *mu'ammās* the following points are noticeable:

(1) The letters of the names are expressed by saying that they are the first, middle, or last letters of some particular word. In the case of undotted letters, there is no difficulty, because they occur in the new word presented; but in the case of dotted letters, the author either gives a synonym of the word from which a particular letter has to be taken, for instance, *Aṣl al-raw'* is equal to *Aṣl al-qalb*, or hints at the numerical value of a letter; for example, حرف الثاء is obtained by doubling the value of حرف الراء.

(2) The author, in expressing the names of his relatives in this novel manner, has selected words that signify some excellence or virtue; and the indication of the first, middle or last letters of words is given in various ways which themselves point to laudable characteristics.

(3) The names of Abū Turāb, Abū Ḥāmid and Abū Rāshid, the step-brothers of the author, are arranged in order according to their age, for it should be noted that the name of the first is to be taken from the first letters of the given words; that of the middle, from the middle letters, and that of the last, from the last letters.

Faydī was commonly considered to be a heretic as regards his religious faith, but curiously enough he has never said anything against the orthodox view in the introduction or in the commentary itself. If we, for instance, take the following four points on which a heretic or freethinker may differ from the orthodox :—

I. The Qur'ān is the last book of revelation and Muḥammad the last Prophet;

II. Miracles and supernatural things such as the birth of Christ without a father, the story of

'The People of the Cave', and that of 'The People of the Elephant', etc.;

III. God leads to the straight path whomsoever He likes, and lets go astray whomsoever He likes, etc.;

IV. The only true religion is Islām;

we find that he interprets all these points entirely from the orthodox standpoint.

This commentary, apart from the literary skill, has no value, as the self-imposed restriction has made the brief comments that he offers more difficult than the text itself. His chief point is to avoid the dotted letters while commenting on the Qur'ān and so he is unnecessarily lenghty wherever ideas-could have been expressed concisely, otherwise he is brief to obscurity. It may be compared in brevity with the well-known *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* which has no such alphabetical restrictions and so offers its brief comments in the easiest possible words, while *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām* has to use bombastic and unusual words.

The learned Indian critic, Shiblī, whom the late Professor Browne has quoted in his history of Persian Literature, remarks that this commentary shows only the wonderful mastery that the author had over Arabic literature, otherwise it is worth nothing.[1] Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, whose introduction to his Urdu commentary on the Qur'ān has been translated into English, is of the same opinion.[2]

As regards Arabic and Persian literature, it should be noted that the characteristics of an Indian mind are apt to express themselves in an artificial, flowery, bombastic and ornate style. To take Persian first, we find that Amīr

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[1] Shiblī, *Shi'ru 'l-'Ajam* (ed. A'zamgarh), III, 67.

[2] 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqāni's *Introduction to his Commentary on the Qur'ān* (English Translation), p. 576.

Khusraw, the greatest poet of India, wrote in a very artificial style, as exemplified by his *Mathnawī*, the *Qirān al-Sa'dayn*, and his prose work, the *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*. Among the poets of the later period, Mullā Zuhūrī, 'Abdu 'l-Qādir Bīdil, etc., are notorious for the same failing. The great poet of Persia, 'Urfī, who lived in India during the latter part of his life, could not avoid this influence. The same is the case with Ṣā'ib. Both of them are much admired in India and Turkey, but are disliked in their own country. Their fellow-countrymen say that they were poetical geniuses but that their poetry was spoiled by their stay in India.[3]

Arabic could not enjoy the same amount of popularity in India as Persian did. Yet Arabic could not remain unaffected by this tendency of the Indian mind. Among all the rhetorical devices, the figure of speech called *Ṣan'at-i-Muhmalah*, has fascinated the Indian Muslims very much on account of its very difficult nature. We find that even in Arabic some attempts have been made in this direction. One of them is this *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām*. Another is *mawārid al-kilam* by the same author. Then there is another commentary on the *sūrah Yūsuf*. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq of Lahore is said to have written a biography of the Prophet with the same restriction.

By writing the *Sawāṭi'*, Fayḍī has contributed to Arabic literature a work entirely artificial in its nature according to the characteristic of an Indian mind. I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout.

2. *Jubb-Shaghab* (جب شغب), also named *Fayḍ Ghayb* (فيض غيب). The author is 'Abd al-Aḥad b. Imām 'Alī of

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3 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Sukhandān-i-Fārs*, Chapter on "Characteristics of Indian Persian."

Allahābād who is a very modern writer. This work is mentioned here to show further the peculiarity of an Indian taste.

The *Jubb-Shaghab* is a commentary on the last *juz'* of the Qur'ān. In this commentary the author has avoided undotted letters, that is to say, he has maintained the figure of speech called *Ṣan'at-i-Manqūṭah* which is just the opposite of the rhetoric contrivance maintained by Fayḍī in his *Sawāṭi'*.

The following passage relating to the first *sūrah* will show its style :

الحمد لله (يثني ثنيه)

All praise is due to God (Who is praised by way of being praised),

ربالعالمين (يغذي غذية)

The Lord of all the worlds (Who gives nourishment),

الرحمنالرحيم (ينضى نيض جيب)

Merciful and compassionate (Who sends abundant favours),

مالک يومالدين (يغبن شقى يزقن تقى)

The master of the day of judgment (when the sinful are punished and the pious rewarded).

اياک زعبد (ثبتني نيتى)

Thee we worship (Keep my motive firm),

و اياک نستعين (تغيثني)

And of Thee we beg help (Thou redressest me).

اهدناالصراطالمستقيم (في غى بغى نجنى)

Lead us to the straight path (in the misguidance of sin. Give me salvation),

صراطالذين انعمت عليهم (بششت بشيشة)

The path of those whom Thou hast rewarded (with whom Thou has tbeen pleased),

غيرالمغضوب عليهم (غضبت غضبة)

Not of those with whom Thou art angry (upon whom Thou hast thrown Thy wrath),

والضالين (نفي بغى - خذني بخفض غض)

Nor of those who go astray (*i.e.*, the exclusion of the sinful. Take me in fresh comfort).

As this style is entirely artificial and as it is very difficult to express ideas in words having no undotted letters, the explanation it offers is much more meagre and obscure than that offered by the *Sawāṭi'*. The object of the author is not to write a commentary but to make a display of his knowledge of the Arabic language, which he has, to his credit, done and perhaps successfully. To maintain *Ṣan'at-i-Manqūṭah* is much more difficult than to maintain the opposite *Ṣan'at*, and hence this commentary is a greater credit to the author of the *Jubb-Shaghab* than the *Sawāṭi'* is to Fayḍī. The latter is a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān while the former relates to the last *juz'*, only, but this fact does not throw any slur on the abilities of the author, as he has not made any selection of *sūrahs* to suit his purpose. If he had done so, it would have been concluded that he could not have maintained the style throughout. Perhaps he could not find time, or he perhaps soon realised the folly of wasting his intellectual activities. At the end he has given a poem of thiry couplets, maintaining therein the same restriction, which fact throws sufficient light on the command that he had over Arabic literature. The *Jubb-Shaghab* is a chronogrammatical name which gives the year 1307 A.H. as the date of its composition.

The very title is a difficult phrase. Its meanings can hardly be understood without reference to dictionaries. *Jubb* means a 'well'. But what is the meaning of the other word *Shaghab*? This word has several meanings, one of them being 'deviating from the way'. So the

whole phrase means 'A well out of the way'. As this 'well', *i.e.*, the Commentary, is 'out of the way', *i.e.*, not in the usual style, it is named *Jubb-Shaghab.*

IV. On the Principles of Qur'ānic Exegesis : One Book.

This work is *al-Fawz al-Kabīr* (الفوز الكبير) by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, whom we have mentioned above. It was originally composed in Persian but was later on translated into Arabic by a certain resident of Madrās. The name of the translator is not known. It is divided into five chapters, the last of which is a separate book with the title of *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, which has already been discussed. The value of this book lies in its masterly exposition of the principles of Qur'ānic exegesis.

The author divides the subject-matter of the Qur'ān into five, to wit :—

1. *Al-Aḥkām* (Commands) ;
2. *Mukhāsamah* (Contentions) ;
3. *Al-Tadhkīr bi-Aḥkām Allāh* (Admonitions with reference to divine blessings and gifts) ;
4. *Al-Tadhkīr bi-Ayyām Allāh* (Admonitions with reference to the days of God, *i.e.*, past events) ;
5. *Al-Tadhkīr bi 'l-Mawt wa ba'd al-Mawt* (Admonitions with reference to death and the life to come).

The Qur'ān contends with four classes of people, namely, polytheists, hypocrites, Jews and Christians. After classing the subject-matter of the Qur'ān and the people with whom it contends, the first principle that the author lays down for the guidance of a commentator is that he should not lose sight of this fact that the Qur'ān, in dealing with all the matters mentioned above, strictly follows the style of the speech of the ancient 'Arabs and not of the later writers, who were experts in writing systematised and well-arranged text books.

The next point that he tries to bring home to his reader is the realisation that the object of the Qur'ānic passages containing *al-Tadhkīr bi-Aḥkām Allāh*, etc., is to purify human beings and not to give them philosophical or historical lectures. The Qur'ān has mentioned only those facts which are self-evident and those stories which are well known.

Generally commentators are inclined to believe that there is some occasion or other of the revelation of all the Qur'ānic verses, and they try to explain the verses in the light of the stories which caused their revelation. Walī Allāh is opposed to this general belief. He says that since the object of the revelation of the Qur'ān is to purify and elevate humanity and to correct wrong beliefs and evil doings, the very existence of the former (wrong belief) is the cause of the revelation of the contending verses and that of the latter (evil doings) is the cause of the revelation of the verses containing commands and prohibitions.

In the second chapter he says that the Qur'ān was revealed in plain and simple Arabic, easily and thoroughly understood by those 'Arabs who heard or read it Since thinking over the *Āyāt Mutashābihāt* was discouraged by the Prophet, they did not ask him for the philosophical explanation of those verses. When non-'Arabs embraced Islām, difficulties of the following kinds arose:—

1. Obscurity of certain words;
2. Want of knowledge as regards the cancelling and cancelled verses;
3. Want of knowledge as regards the cause of the revelation of some verses;
4. Grammatical and rhetorical difficulties.

As regards the obscure words occurring in the Qur'ān, he says that the meanings of such words have come down to us on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās

through many transmitters, which meanings he has collected in a separate book entitled *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, which may be taken as a fifth chapter to the present work of his.

As to the cancelled verses, he points out that the early writers used the word *Naskh* in a very broad sense, with the result that the number of such verses was to them not less than five hundred. Suyūṭī, on the authority of Ibn al-ʻArabī, has reduced the number to twenty, which Shāh Walī Allāh brings down further to five only.

As regards the occasions of the revelation of the verses, he asserts that there is again a variance of interpretation concerning the term *Sabab al-Nuzūl*. Every event to which a certain verse might be applicable and which occurred in the time of the Prophet, has been rather carelessly mentioned as the occasion of the revelation of that verse. *Nazalat al-āyah fī hādhā*, the common expression of the early writers, says he, does not therefore necessarily mean that that event was the cause of the revelation of the verse.

As to the grammatical and rhetorical difficulties, he has given a long list explaining therein all such difficulties.

In the third chapter he has explained the peculiarities of the Qur'ānic style. His main point is that the text is not systematically arranged like a regular book. He compares the *sūrahs* to the orders and mandates which a ruler issues to his subjects from time to time, as required by the situation. He has skilfully worked out this comparison in some details which is almost a new idea.

In the fourth chapter he gives a general criticism of all the existing Qur'ānic commentaries. His main point is that different commentators have taken a fancy to write commentaries from the different standpoints of their own interests. A grammarian, for example, has written his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer has based his work on scholastic arguments. This tendency, he says, has done great harm to the

understanding of the real spirit of the Qur'ān, just as the *'Ilm al-Tajwīd* (the science of recitation) has diverted the attention of the readers of the Qur'ān from thinking over the actual significance of the verses towards the way in which it should be properly recited.

V. Glosses and Annotations on the Previous Commentaries : Three Books.

1. The importance of the *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* has already been referred to. The most widely read of all the glosses, written by Indians on this commentary, are those composed by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656), who was an accomplished and eminent scholar attached to the court of Shāh-jahān. His reputation as a learned commentator and and writer of glosses spread during his life-time so far as to reach Ḥājjī Khalīfah, living at so distant a place as Constantinople, who has mentioned some of his works in his bibliography.[1] They were contemporaries of one another. As the most important part of the *Bayḍāwī* is that relating to the first two *sūrahs*, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm has written his glosses on this portion only, but did not finish the work. It runs up to the three-quarters of the second *juz'*. His glosses are very illuminating. The author of the *Khulāṣat al-Āthār* speaks of him and his works very highly. Of his *Ḥāshiyah* on the *Bayḍāwī*, he say رايتها وطالعت فيها ابحاثاً دقيقة.[2]

The following are some of the characteristics of his *Ḥāshiyah*:

1. He offers philological and grammatical explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in the *Bayḍāwī*;
2. He explains obscure passages ;

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[1] Khalīfah, IV, 925; VI, 241; and VII, 914.
[2] Muhibbī (محبى), II, 318.

Sa'īd who dedicated it to Awrangzīb. It is an index, not to the beginnings and endings of the verses but to each and every word in the Qur'ān. This index is almost as modern in its design and arrangement as another work of the same nature, and also of the same name, by Flügel.

Both the Nujūms Compared :

Flügel has first arranged the words according to their roots, and then under one root has given all its various forms. Muṣṭafā has simply followed the natural arrangement of the words according to the letters they contain, irrespective of root or anything of that sort, and so Muṣṭafā's index is much more convenient in this respect than Flügel's, in which one cannot find the required word unless one knows the root of it. For philological purposes, Flügel's index is much more helpful than the other one. If both the arrangements are joined, there will be nothing to be desired or improved.

The other point of contrast is that Flügel has adopted the numbers of *sūrahs* and verses, whilst Muṣṭafā refers to *juz'* and *rukū'* instead, the former being indicated in numerals and the latter being shown in *Ḥurūf Abjad,* which system is very defective and inconvenient. In short, Muṣṭafā's *Nujūm* was the best Qur'ānic index up to the time when Flügel composed his work, which, as fairness demands, should not be compared with the previous work, in view of the wonderful facilities of modern times.

CHAPTER III

HADITH LITERATURE IN INDIA

By the fifth century of the *Hijra*, the great collections of *Hadīth* literature dealing with the sayings and doings of the Prophet and of his Companions, had been completed. But on the basis of this material there was built up a separate department of study, with numerous branches—the Science of *Hadīth*—and this has attracted the attention of the Muslim scholars of succeeding generations up to modern times, and the vast literature on *Hadīth* now forms a very important and considerable part of Islamic learning. What we are concerned with here is the contribution of India to this branch of Arabic literature. Considering her special disadvantages and geographical obstacles, it may be said that she has acquitted herself well.

One great disadvantage that India has had with regard to the collection of *Hadīth* is that, being very distant from the country where the Prophet was born, lived, and died, there were no Indians among the narrators and guarantors of *Hadīth* up to the time when the traditions were collected in various works. It was in Arabia, Persia and Khurāsān that all the canonical and other works on *Hadīth* were compiled. Only two or three out of thousands of these narrators were directly or indirectly connected with India. One is Abū Ḥafṣ b. Rabī' who was a *Taba' Tābi'īn* and a reliable narrator. He went to Sind and died there in 160/776. According to one authority, he is said to have been the first Muslim who wrote a book. This work does not exist and the nature of it is not known. Possibly it was on *Hadīth*. Another is Abū Ma'shar, who was the

client of Umm Mūsā. He was also a narrator. References have been made to both of them in Chapter I. Besides them there might have been a few more among the early Muslim 'Arabs who went to Sind when it was invaded and conquered by the Muslim forces, but nothing is definitely known about them.

Anyhow, in India many Arabic books relating to *Ḥadīth* literature have been written, of which twenty-two are worthy of notice. They may be classed in the following way :—

I.	Commentaries on canonical and other books	6
II.	Re-arrangements of previous collections ...	3
III.	Dictionary of *Ḥadīth* literature ...	1
IV.	*Arba'īn* (a collection of 40 *Ḥadīth*) ...	1
V.	New Collections made upon a novel principle	2
VI.	Collections of *Ḥadīth* relating to some particular topic or problem (*i.e.*, applied *Ḥadīth*)	3
VII.	Interpretation of these Secrets (*i.e.*, the spirit) of *Ḥadīth*	1
VIII.	Science of the Principles of *Ḥadīth* ...	1
IX.	Biographies of Guarantors	2
X.	Forged *Ḥadīth*	2
	TOTAL ...	22

I. Commentaries on the Canonical Works : Six Books.

Though most of all the canonical and other works have been commented upon in India, here only six books, more valuable than the rest, are mentioned.

1. *Lam'āt al-Tanqīḥ 'alā Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (لمعات التنقيح على مشكوة المصابيح) by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (1052/1642). He is one of the best known of Indian scholars. He was born in 958/1551; and visited the Ḥijāz in 996/1587. He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* of his age and is rightly honoured as having considerably promoted the studies of *Ḥadīth* in India. He is the author of several works. He

states in his preface that when he was writing his commentary in Persian on the *Mishkāt*, he came across certain learned discussions and subtle points that did not deserve exposition in the Persian language. So he resolved to write an Arabic commentary also, but as he wrote in Arabic by preference, the Persian commentary remained unfinished and the other was completed. This commentary is very copious and valuable. It gives philological explanations, grammatical subtleties, problems of *Fiqh*, various chains of one and the same *Ḥadīth*, the principles of inference, the correct pronunciation of the names and titles of the narrators, etc. The chief aim of the author is to defend the system of the *Ḥanafī* school by means of *Ḥadīth* in doing which he has succeeded, so much so that, as he himself has remarked, Imām Shāfi'ī seems to be one of *Aṣḥāb-al-rā'* and Abū Ḥanīfah, one of *Aṣḥāb al-Ẓawāhir*. The introduction is interesting and forms a separate treatise by itself, in which the author has explained all the kinds of *Ḥadīth*. He says that any single *Ḥadīth* may be regarded from different standpoints. With regard to the subject-matter it is either a saying or an action; if it is the latter, then it is either *Marfū'* when it is traced back to the Prophet or *Mawqūf* when it goes back to a companion only, or a *Maqṭū'* when it does not go beyond a companion of a companion of the Prophet. From the standpoint of genuineness a *Ḥadīth* is either *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥasan* or *Ḍa'īf*. It is *Mutawātir*, if it has been narrated by a large number of guarantors in each generation, otherwise *Āḥād* which are, in their turn, either *Mashhūr*, *'Azīz* or *Gharīb*. The value of this introduction may be seen in this fact that almost all the Indian editions of the *Mishkāt* have incorporated it as an introduction.

2. Glosses on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (الحاشيه علی صحیح البخاري) by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sindī (1138/1727). He was born in Thattah, a village in the Sind Province. After

completing his education in India he went to Madīnah and settled there for the rest of his life, gaining there a considerable reputation as a learned scholar and commentator. He wrote glosses on all the six standard books of *Ḥadīth*, and composed other works also. Murādī has spoken of him and his works highly in his *Silk al-Durar*. The work under consideration has been mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfah. It gives useful explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in the text. It also explains the headings of the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī*.

3. *Al-Musawwā* (المسوى), a commentary on the well-known *Muwaṭṭā* of Imām Mālik, composed by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, whom we have met in the preceding chapter. In this work each *Ḥadīth* is followed by a learned criticism and explanation dealing with different interpretations given by different scholars. The learned commentator has also arranged all the *Ḥadīth* of the *Muwaṭṭā* in a form convenient for reference and has mentioned both *Shāfi'ī* and *Ḥanafī Madhhabs* in each chapter. He has also given Qur'ānic verses in support of the injunctions derived from the *Ḥadīth* of the *Muwaṭṭā*. Shāh Walī Allāh also wrote a commentary on the same work in Persian, but it is not so copious as the Arabic one.

4. *Sharḥ Tarājim Abwāb al-Bukhārī* (شرح تراجم ابواب البخاري) by the same author. This small book contains illuminating annotations on the headings of the chapters in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. The material of the book is not original, but hitherto it had remained scattered in various voluminous commentaries. The merit of the work lies in the fact that reliable and useful notes selected out of the vast and scattered materials have been collected in a brief form in one book. The author has also mentioned some of the principles underlying the headings of the *Bukhārī*; some of them may be given here to show their nature :—

I. Sometimes al-Bukhāri puts as a heading a *Ḥadīth Marfū'* though it does not comply with his rules for deciding the trustworthiness of the narrators, and then in support of this *Ḥadīth*, he mentions another which conforms to his own standard of reliability:

II. Sometimes he gives as a heading a certain problem which is inferred from a *Naṣṣ*.

III. Sometimes he puts as a heading the *Madhhab* of previous scholars and then he narrates those *Ḥadīth* which justify this *Madhhab*. Sometimes the inference is not positive and so he will put as a heading the phrase *Bāb man Qāla Kadhā* (Chapter on those who hold this opinion).

IV. Sometimes he puts a controversial problem as a heading and then narrates all the conflicting *Ḥadīth*, to enable the *Faqīh* to decide in any way that he likes.

V. Sometimes he narrates many *Ḥadīth*, each connected with the heading under which it is put. Then he mentions another *Ḥadīth*, the subject-matter of which is supplementary to what is inferred from the heading. He begins such *Ḥadīth* with the word *Bāb*, which does not mean an altogether new chapter. It merely stands for such a word as *Tanbīh* or *Fā'idah*, used in the works of the authors of the later periods.

VI. Sometimes he uses the term *Bāb* in place of the *Qawl al-Muḥaddithīn* (the verdict of traditionists).

VII. Sometimes he mentions as a heading the *Madhhab* of *Ba'ḍ al-Nās* (some people) or a *Ḥadīth* which is not reliable to him, and

then he narrates a genuine *Ḥadīth* from which he infers against the *Madhhab* or the *Ḥadīth* quoted as the heading.

5. *Al-Muḥallā* (المحلى), another commentary on the *Muwaṭṭā*, compiled by Salām Allāh (1129-1716) who has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. This work begins with an introduction in which the author deals with the technicalities of *Ḥadīth* and gives a biographical account of the Imām Mālik and a critical note on the *Muwaṭṭā*. The reason for compiling the commentary he himself states to be that as Zarqānī's commentary was not current in India, and as no Indian commentary existed, he felt the necessity of writing an exhaustive commentary on the *Muwaṭṭā*. It is rather curious that the author of the commentary under consideration makes no mention of Shāh Walī Allāh's *Musawwā* which had been composed about thirty years before. Perhaps he had not seen it. The reason given by the author is a common one. Zarqānī has put forward the same excuse in the beginning of his well-known commentary.

The *Muḥallā* is a copious commentary. In addition to the explanations of difficult words and phrases, the author discusses problems of *Fiqh* as well. Shāh Walī Allāh's *Musawwā* is much less copious but is better arranged.

6. *Al-Mawāhib al-Laṭīfah* (المواهب اللطيفة), a commentary on the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfah, composed by Muḥammad 'Ābid Sindī (d. 1257/1841). The author was born in a town of Sind. He completed his education at Zabīd and then went to Ṣan'ā', where the minister gave him his daughter in marriage. He afterwards went to Egypt as the ambassador of the Amīr and then, after some time, he returned to his native place in Sind with the intention of settling there. But zeal for learning induced him to go to Madīnah again, where he was appointed *Ra'īs al-'Ulamā'* of the city. He wrote several books, one of which is the

present work. This is not the first book of its kind. Glosses and commentaries on Abū Ḥanifah' *Musnad* had been composed by several authors among which 'Alī Qārī's is well known. Muḥammad 'Ābid's commentary is based on the previous works, together with his own method of commenting. He has, for instance, mentioned all other *Ḥadīth* which support the *Ḥadīth* contained in this *Musnad*. He criticises all controversies on *Fiqh* in favour of the *Ḥanafī* school to which he himself belonged.

II. Re-arrangement of the Previous Works: Three Works.

1. *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabawiyyah min Siḥāḥ al-Akhbār al-Muṣṭafawiyyāh* (مشارق الانوار النبويه من صحاح الاخبار المصطفويه) by Ḥasan b. Ḥasan Ṣaghānī Lāhūrī. One of his forefathers migrated from Ṣaghān to Lahore, where he was born in 570/1174. He received his education from his learned father. In 615/1218 he went to Baghdād. Two years later the Abbaside Caliph sent him as an ambassador to the court of Iltutmish at Delhi where he stayed for about seven years and went back to Baghdād in 624. He was again sent to India on the same mission and returned to Baghdād in 637/1239. He died in 650/1252. He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* and a philologist of repute. This work of his on *Ḥadīth* and the *'Ubāb* (a dictionary of the Arabic language) are regarded as works of high merits. He also wrote several books on other subjects.

In the present work he has re-arranged those *Ḥadīth* which are found in either or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* in an interesting manner according to their initial words, classified systematically. The book is divided into twelve *Bābs*, each *Bāb* being further divided into several *Faṣls*. A few headings may be mentioned to show the nature of the arrangement:—

Bāb I. Those *Ḥadīth* which begin with the relative and interrogative pronoun *Man* (من).

Bāb II. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the article *Inna* (إن), subdivided into ten *Faṣls* according to various pronouns to which this article is prefixed, *e.g.*, إني - إنك - إنهم - إنه.

Bāb III. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the negative article *Lā* (لا).

Bāb IV. *Ḥadīth* beginning with the article *Idhā* (إذا) *Idh* (إذ).

Upon this work more than one commentary has been written.

2. *Kānz al-'Ummāl* (كنز العمال في سنن الاقوال والافعال) by 'Alī Muttaqī of Burhānpūr. He was born at Burhānpūr in 885/1480. After completing his education and being admitted to the Chishtī Order, he went to the Ḥijāz where he settled for good. He died in 975/1567. He is the author of many works, the number of which is said to have exceeded a hundred. The celebrated Suyūṭī collected all the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet, contained in the canonical and other collections of *Ḥadīth* in one book entitled *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, the sayings being arranged according to the initial words of *Ḥadīth* and the doings according to the names of the narrators. Of this huge work he later on made an abridgment under the title of *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* in which he included only those sayings (not doings) which were short and unrepeated.

'Alī Muttaqī rearranged all the *Ḥadīth* contained in the *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* under different titles in accordance with the arrangement in works of *Fiqh*. First he arranged the *Ḥadīth* of the *Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* under the title of *Manhaj al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl*, and then he arranged the rest of the *Ḥadīth Qawlī* contained in the *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* giving it the name of *Ikmāl Manhaj al-'Ummāl.* Afterwards he put both collections in one book under the title of *Ghāyāt al-'Ummāl.* Later on he arranged the *Ḥadīth Fi'lī* (the doings of the Prophet) contained in the

Jam' al-Jawāmi' and named it *Mustadrak al-Aqwāl*. Finally, he combined all these three works under the title of *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, that is to say, the *Kanz* consists of the *Ghāyāt al-'Ummāl*, and the *Mustadrak al-Aqwāl*, the former in turn consisting of the *Manhaj* and *Ikmāl*.

The arrangement of the *Kanz* is this that the whole book is divided into sections, called books and arranged alphabetically. First he gives the *Ghāyāt* under the heading 'book' with various chapters, and then he gives the *Mustadrak* (*i.e.*, *Ḥadīth Fi'lī*). In the *Ghāyāt*, the *Manhaj* is followed by the *Ikmāl* after each chapter and not after each book. This work has been published at Ḥaydarābād in eight volumes with a very convenient list of the contents. All the *Ḥadīth* are numbered. This work contains forty-six thousand one hundred and eighty *Ḥadīth*. The value of this work as a useful book of reference to *Ḥadīth* cannot be too much emphasised. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, the teacher of the author, used to say "Suyūṭī obliged the world by composing his *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, whilst Alī Muttaqī has obliged him by re-arranging the same."

3. The *Musnad* of Imām A'ẓam (مسند امام اعظم), to which a reference has been made above. This *Musnad* was arranged according to the headings in treatises on *Fiqh* by Muḥammad 'Ābid of Sind, who has been already mentioned as the author of a commentary on this very work. Not less than fifteen *Musnads* have come down from Abū Ḥanīfah, of which the versions of Al-Ḥārithī and Ibn Khusraw are well known. Muḥammad 'Ābid has arranged those *Ḥadīth* which have come down from the Imām A'ẓam through Ṣadru' d-Dīn Mūsā al-Khafṣakī (d. 650/1252).

III. Dictionary of Ḥadīth: One Book.

It is the *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār fī Gharā'ib al-Tanzīl wa Laṭā'if al-Akhbār* (مجمع بحار الانوار في غرائب التنزيل و لطائف الاخبار), composed by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir of

Pattan. He was born at Nahrwālah (now called Pattan) in Gujarāt in 914/1508. Having completed his education in India, he went to the Ḥijāz at the age of thirty, where he carried on his higher studies with the scholars of the place and became a disciple of 'Alī Muttaqī. Afterwards he returned to his own country where he zealously took up the cause of introducing religious reforms among his countrymen who were Ismā'īlites. For some time he was successful in his mission, but afterwards was killed by them. This work which the author dedicated to his spiritual leader, 'Alī Muttaqī, is a voluminous work consisting of 1668 pages of long size, closely lithographed. It is almost an exhaustive dictionary of both *Ḥadīth* and the Qur'ān. Words are arranged according to the order of the letters of their root. He invariably gives all those derivatives of one root which have been used in *Ḥadīth* together with the text of the *Ḥadīth* in which they occur. He not only gives the meanings of the words but also explains many doubtful points in *Ḥadīth* concerned. This work has almost eclipsed all the previous works of its kind.

IV. Arba'ūn (اربعون) *: One Book.*

In compliance with a *Ḥadīth*, "He, who preserves for my followers forty *Ḥadīth* relating to their religion, will be resuscitated by God among theologians and I will intercede for him on the day of judgment", a large number of *Arba'ūn* have been compiled outside India. Of the few produced in India, one by Shāh Walī Allāh deserves notice. The peculiarity of this selection is that all the *Ḥadīth* contained in this book are reliable traditions that have come down by a regular chain of narrators from the Prophet, right down to the learned compiler, through his teacher Abū Ṭāhir Madanī, who relates them in his own turn from his father, and so on, which chain is completely mentioned in this work.

V. *New Collections made upon a Novel Principle: Two Works.*

1. *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Mubashsharāt al-Nabī al-Amīn* (الدرالثمين فی مبشرات النبي الامين) by Shāh Walī Allāh. It is also a collection of forty *Ḥadīth*, but received in dream from the Prophet. The author has divided them into three classes: (i) those which he himself received from the Prophet, (ii) those which he heard through one medium, and (iii) those which he received through the medium of more than one narrator. A few traditions may be given here to show the general nature of the *Ḥadīth* contained in this work.

One tradition runs:—

> "While I was engaged in *Murāqabāh* in a mosque "at Cambay I saw the holy spirit of the Prophet "which covered me with a sheet with the "result that some subtleties of the religious "mysteries were revealed to me."

Another is:—

> "I asked the Prophet in a dream about the "Shī'ah sect and he replied that it was *Bāṭil* "(false)."

In a third dream he asks the Prophet which of the four schools of *Fiqh* is best. "All are equal" was the reply.

The other kinds of *Ḥadīth* which the author heard through one or more medium are those which were narrated to him by his father or his teacher.

These *Ḥadīth* cannot be put in the same category as other regular *Ḥadīth*. They may be called *Ḥadīth* in this sense that they are traced back to the Prophet; but they are of no legal value, as having been received only in dreams.

2. *Al-Nawādir min al-Ḥadīth* (النوادر من الحديث) by the same author. This work, though under the same category

is not of the same nature as the previous one. It is just like a *Nawādir* in any other branch of learning, *e.g.*, literature, history, medicine, etc. In this work the author has shown his wit and humour by collecting *Ḥadīth* with some outstanding peculiarities. It is an interesting brief collection. A few *Ḥadīth* may be given here to indicate the sort of book it is :—

(1) He has mentioned one *Ḥadīth* as being *Musnadu 'l-Jinn*—a *Ḥadīth* which a *Jinn* heard from the Prophet. This *Ḥadīth* is the most reliable of all *Ḥadīth*. Even Western scholars will not doubt its genuineness, since the words actually occur in the text of the Qur'ān. The chain of this *Musnadu 'l-Jinn* is very short, but at the same time most reliable to the Muslims. The chain of the narration is عن الجن عن النبي عن الله تعالي عن النبي and the text is قل اوحى الى انه استمع نفر من الجن قالوا انا سمعنا قرآنًا عجبًا يهدى الرشد .

Here the first narrator, some *Jinn*, heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet. "The Qur'ān is the text of the *Ḥadīth*, the *Jinn* is the first narrator, God, the second, and the Prophet, the last.

(2) Another *Ḥadīth* that he mentions is what is called الحديث المسلسل بالاولية, that is to say, a *Ḥadīth* in which all the narrators, except the last few, say in their turn respectively :—"It is the first *Ḥadīth* that I have heard from the previous guarantor." It runs :—

حدثني اسيد عمر وهو اول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنى وهو اول حديث سمعته . . . . . . قال الراحمون رحمهم الرحمن تبارک و تعالى ارحموا من فى الارض ير حمكم من في السماء -

(3) الحديث المسلسل بالفقهاء *i.e.*, a *Ḥadīth* in which all the narrators are *Faqīhs*.

(4) A *Ḥadīth* in which all the guarantors are *Ṣūfis*.

(5) A *Ḥadīth* in which all the narrators are Moorish.

(6) A *Ḥadīth* in which all the transmitters are of one and the same name, Aḥmad.

(7) A *Ḥadīth*, the names of whose narrators begin with the letter *'Ayn* (ع).

This book is interesting, not from the standpoint of utility, but rather in view of the individual, curious peculiarities of some *Ḥadīth*.

VI. Collections of Ḥadīth about some particular Topics or Problems: Three Books.

1. *Talkhīṣ al-Bayān fī 'Alāmāt Mahdī Ākhir al-Zamān* (تلخيص البيان في علامات مهدي آخرالزمان) by 'Alī Muttaqī whom we have known in the preceding pages. This book, as the title indicates, is a collection of *Ḥadīth* about the expected *Mahdī*. It was intended for the guidance of the followers of Muḥammad of Jáwnpūr (d. 910/1504), who claimed to be the expected *Mahdī*. The work is not an original one. The author states that as the *'Irf al-Wardī* of Suyūṭī was not systematically arranged and divided into chapters, he has re-arranged it. He also added new material which he collected from other books. It consists of an introduction and thirteen chapters. In the introduction he declares that Muḥammad of Jawnpūr was not the *Mahdī*. He, however, seems to regard him as a saint, but he points out at the same time that it sometimes happens that even a saint makes mistakes and blunders. Only the Prophets were infallible. These are the headings under which he has arranged those *Ḥadīth* :—

1. The miracles of the *Mahdī*.
2. His lineage.
3. His physical features.
4. The circumstances before his appearance.
5. His signs.
6. The way in which allegiance will be paid to him.
7. His helpers.

8. His conquest.
9. His meeting with Christ.
10. The duration of his stay.
11. His death.
12. A mention of those who have called themselves *Mahdī*.
13. The *Fatwā* of the theologians of Makkah and Madīnah.

2. *Mā Thabat bi 'l-Sunnah fī Ayyām al-Sanah* (ماثبت بالسنة فى ايام السنة), *i.e.*, what is proved by the *Ḥadīth* with regard to the days of the year, by the great *Muḥaddith* of Delhi, 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq. This work is the first of its kind, as far as known to me. It contains all those *Ḥadīth* which relate to the months of the year. He begins with the month of *Muḥarram* and quotes all the reliable *Ḥadīth* concerning the first ten days of this month. He rejects all those practices which are superstitious and not based on *Ḥadīth*. He declares that such beliefs as this, that he who applies antimony to his eyes on the tenth of *Muḥarram*, will never suffer from inflammation of the eyes, or that he who takes a bath on the tenth of *Muḥarram* will fall ill, are mere superstitions and have no connection with religion. Then he takes a critical survey of all the *Ḥadīth* about the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, followed by an account of the relations between Ibn Zubayr and Mu'āwiyah.

Under the heading of the month *Ṣafar*, he proves the absurdity of the common belief in the inauspiciousness of this month.

Under the heading of the month *Rabī' II*, he gives a short account of 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī whose death is celebrated by Muslims on the 11th of this month.

Then he discusses *Ḥadīth* relating to *Rajab* and the merits and demerits of *Laylat al-Raghā'ib* (the night of desires) which is the night preceding the first Friday of this month.

Similarly, with regard to *Sha'bān*, *Ramaḍān*, *Shawwāl* and *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, he narrates *Ḥadīth* relating to the middle nights of *Sha'bān* and *Ramaḍān*, *Tarāwīḥ*, *'Īd al-Fiṭr*, *'Īd al-Aḍḥā* and pilgrimage. He does not say anything about the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, perhaps because he could not find any *Ḥadīth* referring to it.

3. *Taḥqīq al-Ishārah Ilā Ta'mīm al-Bishārah bi 'l-Jannah* (تحقيق الاشارة الى تعميم البشارة بالجنة) by the same writer. In this book the author has collected all those *Ḥadīth* which contain a *Bishārah* (good tidings) relating to the entry into Paradise of any companion of the Prophet. At the end, he gives many *Ḥadīth* relating to the merits and excellences of the members of the Prophet's family. He has collected all these *Ḥadīth* from the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Athīr and the *Kanz 'l-'Ummāl* of 'Alī Muttaqī.

VII. The Secrets of Ḥadīth: One Work.

It is the *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, composed by the great Shāh Walī Allāh. The chief characteristic of this book lies in the rational and critical exposition of *Ḥadīth*. Of course, the words 'rational' and 'critical' are not to be taken in the sense as that in which Western scholars use them. One cannot reasonably expect a staunch follower of any religion to criticise the scripture he believes in, in the same way as a man of another religion will do. Still the author deserves some credit for having tried to rationalise his religious dogmas, and consequently the work under consideration has won him the title of the Ghazālī of India. In India it is regarded as being superior to the well-known book *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*, which contains many unauthentic *Ḥadīth*.

In the beginning of the book the author says that the basis of all Islamic learning is *'Ilm al-Ḥadīth* dealing with the sayings and doings of the very founder of Islām. This science has many branches, of which *'Ilm al-Asrār* (the

science of the secrets of *Ḥadīth*) is the most important. He who possesses it, is not like that man who, being advised to eat an apple by his medical adviser, ate colocynth (*Ḥinẓal*), on account of the resemblance that exists between the two fruits.

The underlying principles of this work is that every religious injunction of Islām is rational and justifiable from the standpoint of utility, but at the same time, says he, when a *Ḥadīth* has been proved to be authentic and genuine, a man's conduct in acting accordingly should not be dependent upon his knowing the utility of the injunction conveyed by the *Ḥadīth*, because every mind cannot understand everything, and so, says he, we should trust the Prophet rather than our minds.

In order to explain a number of *Ḥadīth* which, he thinks, cannot be explained otherwise, he has maintained the existence of a third world, called *'Ālam Mithāl*, which lies between the material and spiritual world. Everything that exists in this world is said to have a corresponding existence in this intervening world of *Mithāl*.

This book has, in the first place, been divided into two main divisions. The first division which deals with the general principles of inferring the utility of the religious commands and prohibitions, is again divided into seven discussions, each being further split into several chapters. The second main division deals with the rational explanations of all the religious injunctions arranged according to order in works on *Fiqh*.

As this book is considered to be also a work on scholastic theology, it will be discussed further in that connection.

VIII. The Science of the Principles of Ḥadīth: One Book.

It is *Al-Fayḍ 'l-Nabawī fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth wa Fahāris al-Bukhārī* (الفيض النبوي في اصول الحديث وفهارس البخاري), composed

by 'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Nahrwālī (Pattani). Nothing is known of the author except that he was a resident of Pattan.

This book consists of an introduction, in which the author explains the technicalities of *Ḥādīth*, and four chapters, in which he dwells upon the various kinds of *Ḥadīth*, rules for deciding the truthfulness of the guarantors, and conditions for receiving and transmitting *Ḥadith*. Then follow various other discussions, concluding with a critical note on Bukhārī and his work, a survey of all the chapters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with regard to the number of the *Ḥadīth* they contain, an alphabetical list of the guarantors and a copious commentary on the first two books (chapters) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.*

IX. The Biographies of the Ḥadīth Narrators: Two Works.

1. *Darr al-Saḥābah fī Bayān Mwāḍi' Wafayāt al-Ṣaḥābah* (در الصحابه في بيان مواضع وفيات الصحابه), composed by Ḥasan Ṣaghānī, whom we have known as the author of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. It is a small treatise and deals with the places in which about eight hundred companions of the Prophet died. The names are arranged alphabetically.

2. *Kitāb Asmā' Rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (كتاب اسماء رجال مشكوة المصابيح) by Abdu 'l Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi. It deals with all the guarantors of the *Ḥadīth* contained in the *Mishkāt*. The author begins with comparatively long accounts of the four rightly directed Caliphs and then, after the accounts of the members of the Prophet's family, follow the biographical notices of all the remaining narrators alphabetically arranged.

* See Loth, No. 131.

X. Forged Ḥadīth : Two Books.

1. *Al-Risālah fī al-Mawḍū'āt min al-Ḥadīth* (رسالة في الموضوعات من الحديث) by Ḥasan Ṣaghānī. It contains those *Ḥadīth* which the author regards as being forged (موضوع).

2. *Risālat al-Mawḍū'āt* (رسالة الموضوعات) by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the author of the dictionary of *Ḥadīth* already referred to.

The book begins with an introduction in which the author warns his readers that a *Ḥadīth* should not be taken to be forged merely because it has been said by some one to be so, unless authorities are consulted. The *Mawḍū'āt* of Ibn Jawzī, says he, for instance, contains many *Ḥadīth* such as are *Ḥasan*, not to speak of *Ḍa'īf*. Then follows criticism on the merits and demerits of those *Ḥadīth* which are said to be *Mawḍū'* by one scholar or another. It is a useful work on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE ON FIQH

As far as the *Ḥadīth* literature is concerned, there is little or no variance among the *Sunnīs*, who have, in all times, formed an overwhelming majority of the Muslim population. It is *Fiqh* which has divided them into four schools. The majority of Indian Muslims have always been *Ḥanafīs*, that is, the followers of the *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfah. By the time the Indian Muslims commenced to take part in the composition and compilation of works in Arabic, so much literature had been produced on the subject of *Fiqh*, whether *Ḥanafī* or of other schools, that no further efforts were made to produce works on original lines and writers confined themselves almost entirely to the production of commentaries, glosses and new compendiums. Hence India's contribution to Arabic literature on *Fiqh* is nothing more than the construction of new edifices in imitation of the old ones, and out of the same materials, with a very slight change in the design. Moreover, I am not aware that, since the composition of the standard work on *Fiqh*, any other countries have been able to produce books of any original character upon this subject, in spite of the greater opportunities they have had for making contributions to Arabic literature.

Of all the numerous works relating to *Fiqh*, produced in India, eighteen deserve notice. They may be classed as follows:—

I. Critical Account of *Fiqh* 2

II. The Principles of *Fiqh* :

(*A*) Text Books 1

(*B*) Commentaries on Standard Works ... 3

III. *Fiqh* (proper):

(*A*) *Ḥanafī* School:

(*a*) *Fatāwā* 5

(*b*) Various Topics 6

(*B*) *Shāfi'ī* School 1

TOTAL ... 18

I. *Critical Account of Fiqh: Two Works.*

1. *Al-Inṣāf fī Bayān Sabab al-Ikhtilāf* (الانصاف في بیان سبب الاختلاف). This is a work by Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, whom we have known in the preceding chapters, and is a critical account of the theological differences among the *Sunnīs*. The author has ably traced out the history of those differences.

Fiqh, says he, did not exist in the time of the Prophet, nor were theoretical problems introduced in that period. The Prophet did a certain thing and his companions watched him doing it; this was sufficient for their guidance. The people did not put to him more than thirteen questions, which are mentioned in the Qur'ān.

All the companions of the Prophet were not always with him; hence there was a good deal of difference in their personal knowledge of his sayings and doings. It was a common practice among the companions to enquire from one another if any practical problem arose, of which they themselves did not know the solution. The companions of the Prophet settled down later on in different places. When they were asked by the next generation to give a solution of any new problems, they naturally said in reply what they knew. This is one of the causes that led to the differences existing in *Fiqh*.

The second cause that he mentions is the different interpretations of the Prophet's sayings and doings. A bad

memory is also given as one of the causes. Then the author traces the history of two different schools of *Fiqh* : one at Madīnah, where the *Fatāwā* of the first three Caliphs were current, and the other at Kūfah where the *Fatāwā* of 'Alī and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd had supremacy.

2. *'Iqd al-Jid fī Aḥkām al-Ijtihād wa 'l-Taqlīd* (عقد الجيد في احكام الاجتهاد و التقليد) by the same author. It is an interesting book full of useful information, discussed in a critical manner. It is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter he discusses the four bases of *Ijtihād* : the Qur'ān, *Sunnah* (the Prophet's sayings and doings), *Ijmā'* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (analogy). In the second chapter he gives an account of the differences among the *Mujtahids* and *Faqīhs*. In the third chapter he emphasises the importance of adherence to one of the four schools and warns the reader against the contrary practice. In the fourth chapter he describes various classes of people from the point of view of their capacity for theological inference. He has divided them into four classes :

(1) Founders of schools ;
(2) Jurists having a capacity for independent judgment within the limits of a school founded by some greater scholar ;
(3) Theologians well versed in theology but not capable of giving independent judgments.
(4) Mere followers who entirely depend upon the guidance of theologians and learned men.

In the fifth chapter he warns the reader against the misuse of *Taqlīd* and says that a follower of any particular school must not look down upon other systems or attach too much importance to his own *Imām*.

The value of such a clear exposition of the problem of *Taqlīd* as this book offers, may be realised when it is seen that the author, Shāh Walī Allāh, is equally held in high

honour and respect by those Indians who are *Muqallidūn* and by those who follow the doctrine of *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, represented by the party of the late editor of the monthly periodical *al-Manār* in Egypt, and by the followers of Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān in India.

II. The Principles of Fiqh: One Book.

On this subject in India there has been composed a book, which, like many famous text books, has served as the basis for a long series of commentaries. It is entitled *Musallam al-Thubūt* (مسلم الثبوت), composed by the great Indian philosophical writer, Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, whose fame has secured him admittance into the *Encyclopædia of Islām* under the word 'Bihārī'. He was born at Karah, a village in Bihār. He received his education from distinguished scholars such as Quṭb al-Dīn Shamsābādī and others, and became one of the most eminent scholars of his age. He paid a visit to Awrangzīb when the latter was in the Deccan. The Emperor appointed him Qāḍī of Lucknow. He died in 1119/1707. He is the author of several works of which the present book on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* and another entitled the *Sullam*, on logic, hold a high rank in the Indian curriculum.

The *Musallam al-Thubūt* was, as indicated by its very chronogrammatical name, written in 1109/1697. This book is nothing more than a mere reproduction of the previous material, but arranged in so scholarly a manner that it has ever since occupied an honoured place as a text-book in the Indian curriculum of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Several Indian scholars, including the eminent man of letters known as *Baḥr al-'Ulūm* (the ocean of sciences), who has also received mention in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, have employed their pens in expounding the meaning hidden behind the wonderful brevity of the style of this book.

In the beginning *'Ilm al-Fiqh* and *'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* were one and the same thing, but in course of time they became two separate sciences. The *Aḥkām Mustakhrajah* (deduced judgments) began to be called *Fiqh*, while those principles which governed those *Aḥkām Mustakhrajah* received the name of *'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. It was Imām Shāfi'ī who first wrote a book on this subject. The relation between these two sciences is the same as that between dogmas and scholastic theology, that is to say, just as the aim of the latter is to rationalise the former, similarly the object of *'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is to lay down principles from which corollaries may be rationally inferred.

The book consists of an introduction, two main sections, one called *Mabādī* (data) and the other *Maqāṣid* (conclusions), and an appendix. The introduction contains discussions on the definition, scope and purpose of this science. The author defines it as a brief statement of the arguments and principles a theologian requires in order to work out the detailed arguments. For instance, says he, this science deals with such a principle as may guide us to infer from the verse, *Ātū al-Zakāt* (آتوا الزكوة) that *Zakāt* is incumbent and necessary. The difference between logic and *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is this that the former is concerned with the mode of arguing and thinking and not with the truth, or otherwise, of the premises, while the latter aims at both the aspects. The four 'roots' for the deduction of laws, the *Qur'ān*, *Sunnāh* (the Prophet's sayings and doings), *Ijmā'* (consensus) and *Qiyās* (analogy), are the subject-matter of this science. The purpose of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* is to gain knowledge of religious injunctions.

The section of *Mabādī* is divided into three divisions called *Maqālahs*. The first *Maqālah* deals with logical problems, and so it may be regarded as a chapter on logic. The second *Maqālah* is again divided into four chapters. The first deals with *Ḥākim*, that is to say, the principal or final

authority for good and bad. The author says that God is unanimously recognised to be the final authority; but according to the Ash'arites goodness and badness are religious judgments, that is, the action which has been ordered to be done by religion is good and that which is prohibited is bad. The Ḥanafites and Mu'tazilites, on the other hand, hold that goodness and badness exist in things themselves, independently of religious commands and prohibitions. He further discusses this problem in detail and points out the difference between Ḥanafites on the one hand and the Mu'tazilites on the other.

The second chapter of the second *Maqālah* deals with the nature of *Ḥukm* and its various kinds, such as *Farḍ* (obligatory), *Wājib* (incumbent), *Mustaḥabb* (approved), *Mandūb* (a thing the doing of which is more excellent than leaving it undone but which it is allowable to leave undone), *Jā'iz* (allowable), *Makrūh* (disapproved), and *Ḥarām* (unlawful). The third chapter is devoted to a discussion on man's capability or incapability of religious responsibilities. The fourth contains discussions on religious obligations.

The third *Maqālah* dwells on some subtle grammatical, philological and rhetorical topics which are essential for a thorough understanding of the language of the Islamic scripture.

The *Maqāṣid* consists of four chapters called *Uṣūl*, dealing with the four 'roots' of the Islamic deductions. The appendix dwells upon *Ijtihād*.

It may be of interest to note that Amān Allāh Benārsī, an eminent scholar of the age, was a contemporary of Muḥibb Allāh. They used to hold polemic discussions with each other on *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. We find that Muḥibb Allāh often refers to his rival in his book, in order to refute his way of thinking.

The *Musallam al-Thubūt* as a text-book is highly appreciated not only in India but also in Egypt. The author

was an expert in writing text-books, and several commentaries have been written upon them. But it is a matter of great regret that this way of writing text-books and commentaries has been harmful rather than useful to learning. Both these forms of literary composition were carried to extremes. The text-books are brief to obscurity or even worse, while the commentaries are tedious, lengthy and full of uncalled for and unnecessary matter, so that it is very difficult, even for a serious student, to follow the main trend of thought. But we cannot blame Muḥibb Allāh for this defect, for this way of writing text-books had been long established as the accepted fashion of the time and had been regarded as a laudable practice. His merit as a text-book writer should be judged from the standard of the time in which he lived and not from that of our time, in which text-books are written as lucidly and clearly as possible.

(b) Commentaries on Standard Books of Uṣūl Fiqh: Two Books.

1. A commentary on Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khabbāzī's (691/1291) *Mughnī* (شرح المغني) compiled by 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī. His full name is Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī. Having received his education from Wajīh al-Dīn Dihlawī and Shams al-Dīn Khaṭīb Dihlawī and other Indian scholars, he went to Egypt where he was recognised as a great theologian and was, later on, appointed a Qāḍī. He is the author of many books. He was chiefly interested in *Fiqh*. He died in 773/1371. His commentary on the *Mughnī* is copious and reliable. Ḥājjī Khalīfah has mentioned it.

2. A commentary on the celebrated Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī's *Manār al-Anwār* (شرح منار الانوار) composed by Mullā Jīwan whom we have known as the author of the

Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadī. He states in his introduction that there are several commentaries on this book, but they are either too lengthy and tedious or too short and obscure.

The value of this work may be judged by the fact that when he went to Madīnah and delivered lectures there on this book, they were so much appreciated by the scholars there that he was urged to combine and expand them into the form of a regular commentary on the *Manār*, and this commentary he completed during his short stay at Madīnah. On this commentary more than one super-commentary has been written in India.

III. *Fiqh (Proper).*

A. *Ḥanafī School:*

(*a*) *Fatāwā*: *Five Books.*

1. *Al-Fatāwā al-Ḥammādiyyah* (الفتاوى الحمادية) compiled by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rukn b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muftī of Nagore, while he was at Nahrwālah in Gujarāt, with the help of his son, at the instance of Qāḍī Ḥammād al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Akram, after whom this book was named. Nothing more is known of the author and the patron. From the works quoted in this book and from those containing references to it, it may be inferred that this book was composed in the end of the eighth or in the beginning of the ninth century of the *Hijra*. The author has given a long list of all the books which he consulted for the compilation of this work. It is a reliable book and is quoted in the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*. The arrangement is the same as in other collections of *Fatāwā*.

2. *Ibrāhīm Shāhiyyah fī al-Fatāwā al-Ḥanafiyyah* (ابراهيم شاهيه فى الفتاوى الحنفيه) composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad entitled Niẓām Jīlānī, for the Sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (941-955/1534-1548) with the help of one hundred and sixty books. Ḥājjī Khalīfah has

mentioned it and said : وهو كبير كفتاوى قاضي خان جمعه من مائة ستين، (It is a large book like the *Fatāwā* of Qāḍī Khān. It has been compiled from one hundred and sixty books.)

.3. *Fatāwā Jāmi'* (or *Majma'*) *al-Barakāt* (فتاوي جامع البركات) compiled by Abu 'l-Barakāt in the time of Awrangzīb. It is, according to the usual arrangement of works on *Fiqh*, divided into several books, each book being subdivided into many chapters. It is not a voluminous work.

4. *Khizānat al-Riwāyāt* (خزانة الروايات) composed by Chakan al-Hindī of Gujarāt (920/1514). Ḥājjī Khalīfah has also mentioned it. It is just like the preceding books, a work on the details of the *Ḥanafī* laws, and is a mere compilation from various works of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries which the author often quotes.. Tht order of the arrangement is just like that of others, except that a 'Book of Knowledge' by way of an introduction has been put in the beginning. The author states in the beginning that he has throughout his life been interested in the studies of *Fiqh* and in the investigation of theological problems, the results of which he has arranged in the present work.

In the 'Book of Knowledge' he deals with the excellences of knowledge and men of letters.. Being *Ḥanafī*, he has written a discourse about the merits and qualifications of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah. He also explains the technicalities of *Fatāwā* and *Muftī*. As regards the principles of *Fatāwā*, he says that in the first place it must be based on positive proof, derived from the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. Failing that, it is to be based upon the decisions of Abū Ḥanīfah, then upon those of Abū Yūsuf and afterwards upon those of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, and so on. The *Muftī* is at liberty to choose any way that he likes, if Abū Ḥanīfah thinks in one way and both of his pupils in another: but if any of them sides with the teacher, then their decision is to

be given preference, except when the standard theologians have, for the sake of some expediency (*Istiṣlāḥ*), followed the single opinion of either of the two pupils. If a *Muftī* happens to find a reliable *Ḥadīth* and he is satisfied with its holding good, the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah should be given up, according to his well-known saying, 'Abandon my opinion if it is opposed to a genuine *Ḥadīth*.'

5. *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī* (فتاوای عالمگیری) known outside India as *al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah*, which is superior to all the Indian works of this class and one of the best books ever produced on the *Ḥanafī* Law after the compilation of the well-known *Hidāyah*, which is valued by *Ḥanafīs* next to the Qur'ān as indicated by these two couplets :

أن الهداية كالقرآن قد نسخت * ما صنفوا قبلها في الشرع من كتب

فاحفظ قواعدها واسلك مسالكها * يسلم مقالك من زيغ و من كذب

(Verily the *Hidāyah* has, like the *Qur'ān*, cancelled all the religious books that were composed before. Then master its principles and traverse its paths, so that your speech may be safe from error and untruth.)

This vast work, consisting of six volumes, was composed by a committee of Indian theological doctors, with Shaykh Niẓām as the president, appointed by Awrangzīb, one of the greatest patrons of Islamic learning in India. By the composition of this valuable work India has made an appreciable contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of *Fiqh*. It is not an original work, but at the same time not a mere reproduction. As mentioned already, no book can be expected to have been original on *Fiqh*, after the compilation of the standard works, and also in view of the stagnant condition of Islamic learning at that time. The merit of this work lies in its being compiled not by a single author, but by a group of eminent theologians who had consulted all the previous standard books and spared

no pains to produce a reliable and useful compilation. The following are some of its special features :—

(1) The arrangement is the same as that of the *Hidāyah*.

(2) Great efforts have been made, with the utmost possible caution and ingenuity, to discuss and explain all problems.

(3) It is devoid of recapitulation and superfluous matter.

(4) It is also free from unnecessary arguments and parallels.

(5) In most cases, it is confined to the obvious aspects of the traditions and opinions quoted, and has nothing to do with rare decisions, except when there is no other solution.

(6) It always gives quotations from the standard books.

(7) When there are two conflicting solutions for one and the same problem in the standard books, it gives preference to either of the two, by adding additional arguments.

(b) Books on Various Topics relating to Fiqh : Five Books.

1. *Zubdat al-Aḥkām fi Ikhtilāf al-A'immat al-A'lām* (زبدة الاحكام فی اختلاف الائمة الاعلام) by Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq, whom we have already noticed. The object of this book is to point out all the differences of all the four schools of *Fiqh*. It is arranged under the usual headings; and the subject is dealt with problem by problem, the differences of the four systems being given, if there are any. For instance, in the 'Book of Purification' (كتاب الطهارت), the author says that all of them agree that the essentials (*Furūḍ*) of an ablution are four in number :—

washing of the face, washing of both the hands up to the elbows, passing the wet hands over the head, and lastly the washing of both the feet. But they disagree as to some additional details. *Niyyah* (intention) and *Tartīb* (order) are desirable but not essential to *Ḥanafīs*, contrary to *Shāfiʿīs*, while *Mālikites* hold that the former is *Farḍ* but not the latter. This work is somewhat new of its kind. It is brief and well arranged.

2. *Al-Mansak al-Ṣaghīr* (المنسك الصغير) composed by Raḥmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sindī (990/1582). Raḥmat Allāh and his friend ʿAbd Allāh, two natives of Sind, went to the Ḥijāz and settled there and became disciples of ʿAlī Muttaqī of Burhānpūr, the author of the *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*. These two friends were much respected there for their piety and learning and were called *Shaykhayn*. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi, who was also a pupil of ʿAlī Muttaqī, records that Khwājah ʿAbd al-Rashīd used to remark that these two *Shaykhayn* often reminded him of the other *Shaykhayn*, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ʿUmar al-Fārūq.*

I saw a MS. of ths work in the Berlin Library.† It is, as indicated by its very title, a book on the laws concerning pilgrimage. The author wrote a voluminous work on this topic, entitled *al-Mansak al-Kabīr* (المنسك الكبير) of which the present work is an abridgment. The value of this book may be judged from the fact that a great theologian of Persia, no other than *Mullā* ʿAlī al-Qārī (1014/1605) thought it worth while to write a commentary on it.

3. *Taḥqīq Arāḍī al-Hind* (تحقيق اراضي الهند) composed by Shaykh Jalāl Thānesarī (982/1574). He was both a learned man and a Ṣūfī, being the Khalīfah of the saint ʿAbd al-Quddūs Gangohī. The present book relates to landed property in India. As it deals exclusively with problems that are peculiar to India, a fuller description may not be out of place.

* *Akhbāru 'l-Akhyār*, 273.

† Berlin No. 4055.

The object of the author in writing this book is to refute the idea of some scholars that if any piece of land in India is given by the *Imām*, that is to say, the Muslim king, to an undeserving Muslim, it does not become his legal property and hence it is not lawful for him to sell it and benefit by the price it fetches.

He says that India was conquered four centuries ago by force and not by peaceful means; and it is not known who was the owner and of what land. Nobody knows what has happened to the original owners during this long time. Under these circumstances all lands in India are unclaimed property. If, in any village, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims who owned the land before the conquest of India by the Muslims, they cannot continue to be the legitimate owners of the land, as they have not been on good terms with the Muslims. Hence the condition of the Indian land is this, that it is neither distributed among the victorious warriors nor is in the possession of the non-Muslims. If later on the survivors of the original non-Muslim owners began somehow or other to cultivate these pieces of land, it would not imply that their possession of the land has been confirmed by the State. Thus the author concludes that all the lands in India are the property of *Bayt al-Māl* and whosoever cultivates them, having the permission of the *Imām*, becomes the legitimate owner of them in virtue of their cultivation.

If in any village, further argues the author, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims whose possession of the land was confirmed by the *Imām*, it may be said that in the first place their lineage is not certain, and in the second place, there is a difference of opinion between the *Ḥanafī* and *Shāfi'ī* schools as regards this point, *i.e.*, whether the *Imām* can confirm the possession of a non-Muslim owner after the conquest of the territory by Muslims. According to *Shāfi'ī* law, an *Imām* cannot give

land to a *Kāfir*, as it is an encroachment on the right of the victorious warriors and fighting units, while the *Ḥanafī* legists take the contrary view. The author, weighing the arguments of both the schools, concludes that in these problems we must follow the *Shāfi'ī* law, especially when non-Muslims are not on good terms with the Muslims and do not humble themselves, and so the Qur'ānic verse, حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد و هم صاغرون (*i.e.*, until they pay the toll tax with humility), does not apply to them.

4. *Farā'iḍ al-Islām* (فرائض الاسلام), composed by Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Sindī (1174/1760). The author received his education from Makhdūm Ḍiyā' al-Dīn and soon rose into prominence as a practical scholar in his province on account of his learning and earnest zeal for the spread of Islām. Through his influence hundreds of Hindus are said to have embraced Islām. He was in correspondence with Nādir Shāh, who held him in high favour. He is the author of several books.

In the present work, the author deals with the essentials (*Farā'iḍ*) of worship, and gives them a definite number. He has reckoned them to be one thousand two hundred and sixty-two, of which three hundred and thirty-two relate to faith and the rest to practice. He has classified all the *Farā'iḍ* under various headings, systematically arranged. This book is of a somewhat new type and is full of information.

5. *Jāmi' al-Ta'zīrāt* (جامع التعزيرات). This work is comparatively modern, but not of the period after the Indian Mutiny. It was written in 1220 A.H. (1805) by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī who was the Qāḍī at Calcutta when Henry Clerk and Herbert Harrington were judges there.

The author states that though the most important section of *Fiqh* is that which deals with *Ḥadd* (Divine ordinance), *Qiṣāṣ* (retaliation) and *Ta'zīr* (punishments for criminal offences), as it is the section through which the life

and property of a man are rendered safe and secure, yet there is not a single book dealing exclusively with these problems. Having felt the need for such a work, he, at the encouragement of Herbert Harrington, composed this work. This book contains an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction he distinguishes between a *Ḥadd* and a *Ta'zīr* in the following way :—

I. *Ḥadd* is fixed by the *Naṣṣ* (explicit text), while *Ta'zīr* depends upon the will of the *Imām* or *Qāḍī*.

II. *Ḥadd* cannot hold good when there is a doubt of the slightest degree, while *Ta'zīr* is established by a doubt.

III. A minor is immune from *Ḥadd* but not from *Ta'zīr*.

IV. *Ḥadd* is common to both a Muslim and a non-Muslim, whereas *Ta'zīr* is applicable to a Muslim only.

Although the book has been written entirely from the Muslim standpoint and strictly follows *Fiqh*, yet one cannot but notice the influence of the newly brought culture of the West in the book. The arrangement and the treatment of the subject reveal it. It is an interesting work and is a credit to the author. It is a matter of regret that it has not been discovered what reception this book received at the hands of the Indian Muslims at that time. It would have been interesting to know that.

B. Works on Shāfi'ī Fiqh: Two Books.

As already mentioned, the majority of the Indian Muslims adhere to the *Ḥanafī* school. Only in Southern India are the followers of the *Imām* Shāfi'ī to be found. They are largely the descendants of those Arabs who migrated there from Southern Arabia ; and as the emigrants were *Shāfi'ī*, a large number of their descendants also adhere to the same school. In Mālābār where *Shāfi'īs* are found

in a majority, and where Arabic studies are almost as popular as Persian in Northern India, it might reasonably be expected that there must have been written some books on the *Shāfi'ī* law. I have found only two books, one written in Mālābār and the other, near Bombay.

1. *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī* (فقه مخدومی), composed by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (835/1431), the author of the *Tafsīr-i-Raḥmānī* whom we have already noticed. It is a small book and relates to *'Ibādāt* only. It has been lithographed and also translated into Urdu at Bombay. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the author of the Urdu *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, states in his review of the book that save a few slight errors that have crept in, the book is quite a useful work for the average *Shāfi'ī*.

2. *Qurrat al-'ayn* (قرة العين) and its commentary, the *Fatḥ al-Mu'īn* (فتح المعين), both composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. after 991/1583), the author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين). Very little is known of the author. A passing remark occurs in the *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (اخبار الاخيار) by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (1052/1642). 'Alī Muttaqī, the spiritual leader of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, when relating his adventures in Mālābār, says that he happened to see 'Abd al-'Azīz there and that he was *Shāfi'ī* and a Qāḍī. Besides the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* and the present work, Zayn al-Dīn wrote another book which contains *Aḥādīth* and *Āthār* (traditions) about death and the after life.

This present work is a valuable, handy book on *Shāfi'ī Fiqh* and is popular in Mālābār.

CHAPTER V

TASAWWUF OR ISLAMIC MYSTICISM AND ETHICS

Having considered the contribution of India to the branches of Arabic literature concerned with the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh*, in the present chapter we will pass in review what she has contributed towards that department of Arabic literature which, though still connected with Islamic theology, is less dogmatic and more emotional, less rigid and more catholic, less argumentative but more convincing and appealing—a literature that concerns itself with the inner life of the Muslim and embodies the emotional philosophy of Islām.

When Indian thinkers first began to write in Arabic, the standard books on *Ṣūfiism*, such as the *Kitāb al-Lum'ah* (كتاب اللمعه) by Shaykh Abū Naṣr (370/980), *al-Risālat al-Qushayriyyah* (الرسالة القشيرية) by Qushayrī (465/1072), the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* (عوارف المعارف) by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (632/1234), and the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (فصوص الحكم) by Ibn 'Arabī (638/1240), had already been composed and mysticism had taken a definite form, which the Indian Ṣūfīs followed in much the same way as those of other countries. Hence, we find in the Arabic literature of mysticism produced in India the same method of treatment as in earlier writings and a repetition of familiar subject-matter.

The theory, which represents Islamic Ṣūfiism to be the product of Indian thought, has become discredited and modern researches have shown that Islamic mysticism is a complex, derived from various sources, one of which is

Indian Buddhism. But it is noteworthy that if Islamic mysticism was ever influenced by Indian thought, this influence was probably operative outside India, that is to say, in Eastern Persia and Transoxiana where Buddhistic teaching is said to have exerted considerable influence in the eleventh century. But it has not absorbed elements from the Vedanta or any other Indian system, as far as known to the present writer, since its advent in a fully developed form into India. We do not find in the Ṣūfiistic literature produced in India anything alien to the earlier Islamic mysticism as it was brought to India, with the exception of certain astrological references that have crept into some writings.

Of the many books produced in India on *Taṣawwuf* and on the allied subject, about a score deserve mention. They fall under the following heads:—

I.	The theological support of the "Path" (*Ṭarīqah*)	3
II.	Mysticism proper	6
III.	Versified treatment	1
IV.	Methods and practices of the "Path" ...	2
V.	Revelations: Mystic utterances and sayings	1
VI.	Collections of moral and mystical aphorisms	2
VII.	Commentaries on the books written outside India	2
VIII.	Lawfulness or otherwise of *Samā‘* (Music)	3
IX.	The formulæ for invoking Divine blessings on the Prophet	2
	TOTAL ...	22

I. Theological support of the "Path": Three Works.

1. *Lawā‘iḥ al-Anwār fī Radd ‘Alā Man Ankara ‘Alā al-‘Ārifīn Laṭā'if al-Asrār* (لوائح الانوار في رد على من انكر على العارفين

لطائف الاسرار), composed by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq, previously mentioned, in reply to a question put to him, whether a certain Ṣūfī was to be condemned for having regarded the *Laylat al-Qadr* as inferior to the *Laylat al-Tajallā* in the following two couplets :—

تجلى باوصاف الجمال فشاهدت عيون قلوب ما به حار ذو الفكر
فيا ليلة فيها السعادات والمنى لقد صغرت في جنبها ليلة القدر

[He (God) appeared with all the attributes of beauty, and the eyes of hearts saw what bewildered the thinker.

How glorious the night, full of bliss and hope, compared to which even the *Laylat al-Qadr* is insignificant!]

The author commences his treatise with the praise of God and His Prophet in a manner befitting his theme, and then, after discussing the nature of *Ma'rifah* (Divine Knowledge) he gives his judgment in favour of the Ṣūfī.

2. *Al-Qawl al-Jamīl fī Bayān Sawā' al-Sabīl* (القول الجميل في بيان سواء السبيل) composed by Shāh Walī Allāh. The book is divided into several chapters. The first chapter deals with the nature and essence of *Bay'ah* (allegiance). The second contains an account of the various grades of the "traversers of the "Path" (*al-Sālikūn*). The third, fourth and fifth are devoted to the description of the Ṣūfiistic practices of the *Qādirī*, *Chishtī* and *Naqshbandī* orders. The sixth deals with the significance and importance of the *Nisbah* (affinity or attachment with the spiritual leader).

The interesting character of the book justifies a passing reference to some of its important points.

The author first traces the origin of *Bay'ah* (allegiance). He says that in the early days of Islām; it was of five kinds: *Bay'ah* by way of political allegiance to the Caliph; *Bay'ah* at the time of conversion to Islām, *Bay'ah* by way of pledge at the time of flight; *Bay'ah* by way of a pledge to be firm in a religious war; and lastly, *Bay'ah* by way of a pledge to live a pious and religious

life, with which *Bay'ah* he identifies the *Bay'ah* of the "Path" (*Ṭarīqah*) and declares it to be a *Sunnah*, as by a reliable *Ḥadīth* it is established that on many occasions the Prophet took this pledge from Muslim men and women. This kind of *Bay'ah* is mentioned in the Qur'ān also.*

As to the utility of the *Bay'ah* of the "Path," he says that it is a psychological fact that if one and the same piece of advice is given to one person by various bodies, the effect varies according to the personality of the adviser. If he is of an outstanding personality and character, his admonitions will be more effective upon his disciple.

Then the author lays down the following five conditions for a spiritual leader. In the first place, he should have an adequate practical knowledge of the Islamic theology. Secondly, he must be a strict observer of justice and piety. Thirdly, he should not be influenced by worldly considerations. Fourthly, he should advise his disciples in accordance with the commands and prohibitions of religion. Lastly, he must have obtained a full training from an older spiritual leader.

The author also lays down some conditions for a candidate for discipleship: he must be sane and of age, and must have a strong faith in the man whom he chooses as his spiritual leader.

Then the author describes the way in which the *Bay'ah* of the "Path" is affected. The spiritual leader should hold the hand of his would-be disciple and make him recite the formula of the Islamic creed and then, after bidding him repent of his previous misdeeds and sins, should take from him a solemn pledge that in future, as far as possible, he will keep himself free from sins.

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*The Qur'ān, IX, 112; XLVIII, 10, 18; LX, 12.

At the end the author describes the methods and practices of those various mystical orders to which he himself belonged.

As the author is considered to be one of the greatest traditionists of his age, this work is valued as being reliable and trustworthy.

3. *Irshādu't Ṭālibīn wa Ta'īdu l-Murīdīn* (ارشاد الطالبين و تائيد المريدين), composed by Qāḍī Thanā' Allāh of Panipat whom we have already known as the author of the *Tafsīr-i-Mazharī*. This work is divided into six sections, called 'books.' The contents of these sections are as follows:—

Section I. On Sainthood.

Section II. On the duties of disciples.

Section III. On the duties of spiritual leaders.

Section IV. Describing the ways of spiritual progress and the attainment of Sainthood.

Section V. On the various stages of Divine nearness.

Section VI. On the merits and excellences of some great Saints, *viz.*, 'Abdu 'l-Qādir Jīlānī, Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Naqshband, Aḥmad Sarhindī entitled Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī, his sons and Mirzā Jān-Jānān (the author's spiritual leader).

Each of these sections is further divided into several chapters, dealing with interesting and useful topics concerning Ṣūfiism.

The author being a great theologian of his age, this work is also regarded as authentic and reliable from the orthodox stand-point.

II. Taṣawwuf Proper: Two Works.

1. *Al-Tuḥafat al-Mursalah Ila al-Nabiyy* (التحفة المرسلة الى النبي), composed by Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh (1029/1620). The author was a disciple of Wajīh al-Dīn of Gujarāt who

was a Ṣufī and a man of learning. This treatise deals with the problem of pantheism (Waḥdat al-Wujūd). He says that God is the only Being (*Wujūd*) and that Being, though only one, appears in different garments. This Being is the reality of all existing things, and this Being, as such, can neither be revealed to anyone nor can be comprehended by the mind.

For this Being there are seven following stages :—

The first stage is Absolute Being—Being, without any restrictions or attributes. This stage is called *Aḥadiyyat* and is the reality of the real. The second stage is that of the first restriction, which implies the self-knowledge of this Being in a summary manner and of its attributes and of all creatures to come. This stage is called *al-Waḥdat* and is the reality of Muḥammad.

The third stage is that of the second restriction, which implies the detailed knowledge of His Being and attributes and of the world. This stage is called *Wāḥidiyyat* and is the reality of man. All these three stages are declared to be eternal.

The fourth stage is that of spirits, *i.e.*, things abstract and simple (uncompounded). The fifth stage is that of *'Ālam al-Mithāl*, that is to say, things compound, but still too fine to be divisible. The sixth stage is that of *'Ālam al-Amthāl*, that is to say, things compound, material and so capable of divisibility. The seventh stage is that which comprehends all the foregoing stages, and is the last division, and is identified with man.

The names of the first three stages are different derivatives of one and the same root, Aḥad, which meanes 'One.' Philologically, there is no difference between the meanings of these words, but the author has made use of them, to suit his own purpose as if there were shades of difference in their meanings. The same is the case with the names of the fifth and sixth stages (*i.e.*, عالم مثال and عالم امثال).

The author says that this Being is neither interfused in, nor united with, the creatures, otherwise the plurality of being would follow. Further on, he says that the universe with all that it contains, is accidental while the essence is the only Being. This theory that God is an essence is incompatible with the generally accepted theory of the *Ash'arī* school which maintains that God is neither *Jawhar* (essence) nor *'Araḍ* (accident).

Then the author describes the three classes of those who believe in pantheism: in the first place, those who know for certain that He is the reality of all creatures but do not see Him in them; secondly, those who see Him in creatures but not *vice versa*; thirdly, those who see Him in them and them in Him. Under the last mentioned class he puts the prophets and the highest saints, technically called *Aqṭāb*.

At the end the author gives in support of pantheism, quotations from the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*, some of which may be given here to show what sort of support this theory receives from the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*.

A. *Qur'ānic Verses* :—

(1) لله المشرق والمغرب (God's is the East and the West.)

(2) فاينما تولوا فثم وجه الله (Wherever you turn (you find) God's face.)

(3) نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد (We are nearer to Him than His neck vein.)

(4) وهو معكم اينما كنتم (He is with you wherever you are.)

(5) هو الاول والاخر والظاهر والباطن (He is the first and the last and the manifest and the hidden.)

B. *Ḥadīth* :—

(۱) ان احدكم اذا قام الي الصلوة فانما يناجي ربه فان ربه بينه و بين القبله -

(When one of you says his prayer, he certainly whispers with his Lord. Verily his Lord is between him and the *Qiblah*.)

(۲) ولا يزال عبدي يتقرب الي بالنوافل حتى احبه فاذا احببته كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به وبصره الذی يبصر به -

(My servant goes on approaching Me by performing *Nawāfil*, *i.e.*, additional prayers, until I begin to love him. And when I love him I become his hearing with which he hears, and his sight with which he sees.)

On the strength of such quotations one is led to doubt the theory that pantheism in Islām is due to external influences. It is quite conceivable that if Islām had been shut off from other contacts, even then this theory of pantheism would have been worked out in Islām.

The importance of this work may be judged from this fact that no less than three authors have written commentaries on it.*

2. Another work of this nature is the *'Aqā'id al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (عقائد الموحدين), composed by 'Abdu 'l-Karīm b. Muḥammad of Lahore. The author was a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn of Balkh and was a learned Ṣūfī, and belonged to the Chishtī Order. He wrote several treatises on *Taṣawwuf*. The present one is on the lines of what may be termed 'Scholastic Mysticism' as it is devoted to the scholastic treatment of the Ṣūfiistic creeds. It is divided into nine following chapters :—

Chapter I. Hypocrisy.
Chapter II. Apostasy.
Chapter III. Spiritual leadership.
Chapter IV. Discipleship.
Chapter V. Attachment of the disciple with the spiritual leader.
Chapter VI. Affectation and sincerity.
Chapter VII. Existence and annihilation.
Chapter VIII. Recital or recollection (Dhikr).
Chapter IX. Pantheism.

The author is a staunch advocate of pantheism. In support of his belief, he has given a logical argument,

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*See Brockelmann's *Geschechte*, II, 418.

which may be mentioned here. He says that God has no limit or end (*Munazzah 'An al-Ḥadd wa 'l-Nihāyah*), which means that nothing at all is devoid of Him, otherwise it would follow that God is limited up to the boundary of things and that things exist by themselves. He also quotes in support of his theory a Ḥadīth which runs as follows :—

كان الله فى الازل ولم يكن معه شي وهوالان علي ماكان .

(In the beginning (*i.e.*, before the creation of the world) there was nothing with God, and now He is as He was then.)

3. *Anfāsu 'l-Khawāṣṣ* (انفاس الخواص), by Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad, who has already been known to us as the author of the *Tarjamatu 'l-Kitāb*. This work is on the lines of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by the great Ṣūfī, Ibn 'Arabī, and is divided into 81 sections, called *Anfās* (plu. of *nafas*, meaning 'saying'). Each *nafas* is named after the prophet or the saint, the esoteric interpretation of whose teaching and life it contains. The book begins with *al-Nafas al-Aḥmadī*, named after *al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Aḥmadiyyah* (the reality of Muḥammad). Then follow the *Anfās* of the prophets from Adam, Idrīs, Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm to the last Prophet Muḥammad and the *Anfās* of the first four Caliphs and then come the *Anfās* of some important saints of various places. The last *nafas* is devoted to the author's own spiritual leader Abū Sa'īd b. Nūr b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu 'l-Quddūs. Each *nafas* begins with the saying of the prophet or the saint after whom it is named. In the case of the prophets, their sayings are those which occur in the *Qur'ān*, for instance, the *nafas* of Adam begins with قال ابوالبشر آدم صفي الله ربنا ظلمنا انفسنا, that of Idrīs with قال ادريس عليه السلام سبحان الله والحمد لله ولااله الا الله الخ and that of Nūḥ with قال نوح لقومه يا قوم اعبدوا الله مالكم من اله الخ .

The whole book, like the *Fuṣūṣ*, is full of mystical discussions and theosophical speculations and advocates the doctrine of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (pantheism).

4. *Al-Taswiyah* or fully entitled *al-Taswiyah bayn al-Ifādah wa 'l-Qabūl* (التسوية بين الافادة والقبول), composed by the same author. It is a small but very philosophical treatise, in which the author has tried to prove that ليس الممكن غير الواجب تعالى, that is to say, the creature is not other than God. Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī, a well-known philosopher of India and a contemporary of Muḥibb Allāh, thought it worthwhile to write a treatise in the refutation of the *Taswiyah*. This refutation was, in its turn, refuted by one of Muḥibb Allāh's disciples, named Ḥabīb Allāh.* The importance of *al-Taswiyah* may also be judged from this fact that several commentaries have been written on it. One of the commentators is no less than Amān Allāh of Benares, the well-known class-fellow of Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār. Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Ḥalīm of Lucknow has also written glosses on it.

5. *Al-Maghāliṭ al-'Āmmah* (المغالط العامة), by the same author It is a huge book consisting of a long introduction and 164 sections called *Maghāliṭ* (plu. of *Maghlaṭah*, fallacy). The introduction is by itself a treatise, entitled *I'ānatu 'l-Ikhwān* (اعانة الاخوان), containing 15 chapters. The author says that when he explained his Ṣūfiistic ideas and beliefs to the people, they requested him to expel the fallacies committed by those who are ignorant of the real truth, and so he wrote this book.

6. *'Aqā'idu 'l-Khawāṣṣ* (عقائد الخواص), by the same author. This book, as suggested by its very title, describes the beliefs of learned men and Ṣūfīs. It is divided into 21 sections called *Daqā'iq* (plu. of *Daqīqah*, meaning

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*Both these polemic works are in the possession of the present representative of Mawlānā Muhibb Allāh's house.

'point'). They contain the Ṣūfīistic and esoteric interpretation and exposition of some religious topics such as God, His attribute, religious responsibility, reward and punishment, commands and prohibitions, human actions, Divine Will, prophetic office, angels, bodily resurrection, the essence of Faith, retribution, mercy, torture in the grave, Imāmat (Caliphate), etc. The author has suggested that because of the *Daqā'iq* that it contains, the book may also be entitled *Daqā'iqu 'l-'Urafā*.

III. Ṣūfīistic Poetry: One Book.

It is *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ila Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* (هداية الاذكيا الى طريق الاولياء), composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Ma'barī, the grandfather of Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, whom we have known in the previous chapter. This poem was much appreciated and was copiously commented upon by two scholars: one Abū Bakr Makkī and the other Nawawī of Jāvā. Both those commentaries have been published. One of these commentators states that the cause of the composition of this poem is that the author was hesitating whether he should choose the study of theology or that of Ṣūfīism. While he was asleep one night, he saw in a dream a man who told him that *Taṣawwuf* was to be preferred. The next morning he composed this poem, consisting of one hundred and eighty couplets. This poem is in the form of a *Qaṣīdah*, the metre being *al-Baḥr al-Kāmil* and the letter *Alif* being *Ḥarf Rawī*.

The author after the usual Ḥamd and Ṣalāt, says that piety is the basis of true happiness and felicity. Then he explains that the true path to the goal consists of *Sharī'ah*, *Ṭarīqah* and *Ḥaqīqah*, and explains this doctrine by an allegory. *Sharī'ah*, says he, is like a boat, *Ṭarīqah*, like an ocean, and *Ḥaqīqah*, like the precious pearl. Whosoever aspires after the pearl, must embark on the boat (*Sharī'ah*) and then dive into the ocean (*Ṭarīqah*). He then explains

various virtues, such as repentance, contentment, sincerity, resignation, abstinence and so forth, which, says he, are essential for attaining to *Ḥaqīqah.* Here are given some beginning couplets to indicate the style of the poem :—

الحمد لله الموفق للعلا   حمداً يوافى بره المتكاملا
ثم الصلوة على الرسول المصطفى   والآل مع صحب واتباع الولا
تقوى الاله مدار كل سعادة   وتباع اهوا راس شر هائلا
ان الطريق شريعة و طريقة   وحقيقة فاسمع لها ما مثلا
فشريعة كسفينة وطريقة   كالبحر ثم حقيقة در غلا
فشريعة اخذ بدين الخالق   وقيامه بالامر والنهي انجلا
وطريقة اخذ با حوط كالورع   وعزيمة كرياضة متبتلا
وحقيقة لوصوله للمقصد   و مشاهد نور التجلى بانجلا
من رام درا السفينة يركب   ويغوص بحراً ثم درا حصلا
فكذا الطريقة والحقيقة يا اخى   من غير فعل شريعة ان تحصلا
من رام ان يسلك طريق الاوليا   فليحفظن هذى الوصايا عاملاً

IV. Methods and Practices of Ṣūfiism : Two Works.

1. *Al-Jawāhir al-Khamsah,* (الجواهر الخمسة), originally composed in Persian by Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn, generally known as the Ghawth of Gawaliyār, and rendered into Arabic by a disciple of the second generation, Ṣibghat Allāh of Barwaj (in Gujarāt).*

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*Dr. Loth, the author of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library, has incorrectly described it as the work of the original author himself. The translator, while giving the pedigree of the author, remarks :—"He is the spiritual leader of Wajīh al-Dīn of whom I am a disciple." This clearly shows that "I," the translator, and "he," the author, are two different persons. Loth infers from this passage that it was copied by the author's disciple, and so he thinks that this remark was by the scribe who copied it. This inference is incorrect. Another MS. of this work, in the Berlin Library, written in a different hand, contains the same passage—which shows that it was not added by the scribe but by the translator. Besides this, Āzād and others have mentioned Sibghat Allāh as the *Mu'arrib* (translator into Arabic) of the work in question.

This work is divided into five sections styled *Jawāhir*, which represent the gradual progress of the Ṣūfī. The first section deals with the different methods and practices of devotional worship. The second dwells upon the higher forms of devotion. The third section is the most important, and deals with special kinds of ritual practice in connection with the ninety-nine names of God. It is very technical and can be understood only by those who are acquainted with this branch of Ṣūfīistic literature, as well as with astrology, for astrological considerations are here mentioned side by side with the ritual practices—a fact which may be attributed to Indian influence upon Islamic mysticism, though properly speaking there is no connection between astrology and Ṣūfīism. These practices are shown to have some connections with the movements of the stars and so forth. For instance, a particular practice is said to be effective only when it is done at the time of a particular star being in a particular position.

The fourth section contains the spiritual exercises and practices of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, to which the author belonged. The fifth section deals with the merits and excellences of those who seek after the Real and the True.

2. *Al-Risālah fī Sulūk Khulāṣat al-Sādāt al-Naqshbandiyyah* (الرساله في سلوک خلاصةالسادات النقشبنديه), composed by Tāj al-Dīn Zakariyyā (1050/1640), who was the author of several treatises on Ṣufiīsm. He also translated into Arabic Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt* and Wā'iẓ Kāshifī's *Rashaḥāt*.

In the first chapter the author gives the pedigree of the Naqshbandī order, to which he was attached. Then he says that just as a physical issue is impossible without a father, similarly a spiritual production is not feasible without a spiritual leader. He says : من لا شيخ له فالشيطان شيخه (Whosoever has no spiritual leader, finds a leader in Satan). In the second chapter he explains how union with God may be attained, for which purpose he suggests

only two ways: either by constantly keeping the company of saints or by *Dhikr* (rendered as "recollection" by Professor Nicholson). Then he describes the ways and practices of "recollection" of the Naqshbandī order. The most important of these practices is that of inhaling and exhaling, after closing the eyes and pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate, mentally repeating the phrase لا إله إلا الله in such a way as to begin it with inhaling and to finish it with exhaling.

The value of this work may be recognised from the fact that 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1143/1730) has written an exhaustive commentary on it, under the title of *Miftāḥ al-Ma'iyyah fī al-Ṭarīq al-Naqhsbandiyyah* (مفتاح المعية في الطريق النقشبندية).

V. Revelations: Ṣūfīistic utterances: One Work.

One of the works containing the inspired sayings of the Ṣūfīs deserves mention, *viz.*, the *Mulhamāt* (ملهمات) by Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī, the great-grand disciple of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, who is held to be the king of all the Indian saints. The author was a descendant of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and a great Ṣūfī in his age. He was the founder of a sub-branch, named after him, of the Chishtī order. His sayings are beautiful and inspiring, both in language and in spirit. Two passages may be given here:

طالب الدنیا جاھل   طالب العقبی عاقل   طالب المولے کامل
طالب الدنیا مردود   طالب العقبي مسعود   طالب المولے محمود
طالب الدنیا مغرور   طالب العقبے مسرور   طالب المولے منصور
طالب الدنیا مغبون   طالب العقبے ممنون   طالب المولے مامون
طالب الدنیا ھالک   طالب العقبے سالک   طالب المولے مالک
طالب الدنیا ذلیل   طالب العقبے جلیل   طالب المولے خلیل   (الخ)

(The seeker after the world is ignorant, the seeker after the next world is wise, and the seeker after God is victorious, etc., etc.)

No translation can reproduce the beauty of the text.

In the other passage he explains the full significance of a real *Faqīr* (mendicant). He has put together all conceivable virtues, for which it is difficult to find English equivalents. It runs as follows :—

الفقر خلق شريف يتولد منه الصلاح و العفه والزهد والورع و التقوى والطاعه
والعباده والجوع والفاقه والمسكنه والقناعه والمروه والفتوه والديانه والصيانه والامانه
و السهر و التهجد و الخضوع و الخشوع و التذلل و التواضع و التحمل و الكظم
و العفو و الاغماض و الاشفاق و الاتفاق و الايثار - و الاطعام و الاكرام و الاحسان
و الاعراض و الاخلاص و الانقطاع و الانفصال و الصدق و الصبر و السكون و الحلم
و الرضاء و البذل و الجود و السخاوه و الخوف و الرجاء و الرياضه و المجاهده
و المراقبه و الموافقه و الموافقه والمداومه و المعامله و التوجيد و المتهذيب و التجريد
و التفريد و الوقار و المداراة و العنايه و الرعايه و الشفقه و الشفاعه و اللطف
و الكرم و التفقد و الشكر و الفكر و الذكر و الحرمه و الادب و الاعتصام و الاحترام
و الطلب و الرغبه و الغيره و العبره و البصره و اليقظه و الحكمه و الهمه و المعرفه
و الحقيقه و الخدمه و التسليم و التفويض و التوكل و التبتل و اليقين و الثقه
و الغناء و الاستقامه و حسن الخلق و كل فقير و جدت فيه هذاه الصفات سمي فقيراً
كاملا و اذا فقد لم يسم فقيرا -

The following sayings of the same author are worth notice :—

(*a*) The essence of prayers :—

الصلوة كالجسد و الحضور كالروح وكل صلوة ليس فيها الحضور ليس
فيها الروح -

"Prayers are like a body and presence of mind is like the soul, and prayers which are devoid of presence of mind are like body without soul."

(*b*) Significance of *Dhikr* (recollection) :—

الذكر ثلثة احرف الذال و الكاف و الراء • فالذال عبارة عن الذكاء و الكاف
عبارة عن الكياسته و الراء عبارة عن الرقه فمن ذكر المولى اصار ذكي القلب و كئيس النفس
و صاحب الرقه -

"The word *Dhikr* consists of three letters, *Dhāl*, *Kāf* and *Rā*.' The first letter stands for *Dhakā*' (brightness), the second for *Kiyāsah* (sagacity), and the last for *Riqqah*

(tenderness, mercy). So whosoever recollects Master (*i.e.*, God) becomes bright-hearted, sagacious-minded and compassionate."

(*c*) The difference between a religious devotee (*Zāhid*) and a gnostic (*'Ārif*):—

الزاهد يطهر ظاهره بالماء و العارف يطهر باطنه من الهوي
الزاهد تارک الدنيا للعقبي و العارف تارک العقبى للمولى
الزاهد يقطع السبيل و العارف بلغ المنزل و ترک الرحيل

"The devotee keeps his exterior clean with water and the gnostic keeps his interior clean from passions. The devotee renounces this world for the next, and the gnostic renounces even the next world for God. The devotee is still traversing the path, while the gnostic has already reached the destination and has given up departure."

(*d*) The characteristics of a gnostic:—

حرفة العارف ستة الاشياء :—
١ - اذا ذكر الله افتخر
٢ - اذا ذكر نفسه احتقر
٣ - اذا نظر فى آيات الله اعتبر
٤ - اذا هم بمعصية اوشهوة انزجر
٥ - اذا *ذكر الله استبشر
٦ - اذا ذكر ذنوبه استغفر

"The profession of a gnostic consists of six things:— (1) he feels proud when he recollects God, (2) he feels humiliated when he thinks of his own self, (3) he takes warning when he looks into the signs of God, (4) he is driven back when he thinks of a sin or a passion, (5) he rejoices when he recollects God, and lastly, (6) he asks forgiveness when he recollects his sins."

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*ذكر الله seems to be a misprint for some other words so that there may be a good contrast between these words and ذكر ذنوبه in the next sentence.

The language is so beautiful that it does not require any remark. The whole book is full of such Ṣūfiistic aphorisms, sublime in ideas and sweet in expression.

VI. Collections of Moral Aphorisms: Two Works.

1. *Jawāmi' al-Kilam fī al-Mawā'iẓ al-Ḥikam* (جوامع الكلم في مواعظ الحكم), by 'Alī Muttaqī Burhānpurī, mentioned several times in the preceding pages. The author states that this collection consists of about three thousand aphorisms, of which five hundred are *Iqtibāsāt*, *i.e.*, quotations from the Qur'ān; five hundred *Taḍmīnāt*, that is, *Ḥadīth*, which on account of their conciseness are preceded by introductory and explanatory phrases rhymed with them; three hundred sentences of Ibn 'Aṭā' Iskandarī (709/1309); one hundred of his disciple, and the rest are the sayings of some early authors (*Mutaqaddimūn*).

These materials which invariably follow in the order above mentioned, are described under some eighty headings, arranged alphabetically as *Bāb fī al-Īmān* and *Bāb fī al-Iḥsān* and so forth. As to the general character of the work, it may be said that it is of interest to those only who are *Ḥuffāẓ*, *Mufassirūn* and *Muḥaddithūn* and are, at the same time, interested in Ṣūfiism, as the author himself points out in his introduction.

2. The other work of this type is *Mawārid al-Kilam wa Silk Durar al-Ḥikam* (موارد الكلم و سلك درر الحكم), by the famous Persian poet of India, Abd 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī, the author of the *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām*. This book is in the same style as that in which he wrote his commentary on the Qur'ān, that is to say, it is devoid of dotted letters just as the very title of the book is. The author has collected his material from the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth*, and similar sources, and has reproduced them in his own way, in order to avoid dotted letters. Some people think that Fayḍī was a Shī'ah; but in this very book he has

highly praised the first four Caliphs in two places, in the beginning and also in the main portion under the heading *Mawārid al-Ruḥamā'*. He uses the word *Ruḥamā'* for *Aṣḥāb* to avoid dotted letters. These are the words he has employed for them in the beginning :—

اول الرحماء مدركه اسلاماً و اكرمهم اكراماً صهر رسول الله صلعم و اعدلهم عمر المكرم
و احلمهم ممهد كلام الله و موسس السور و اعلمهم ولد عمه اسد الله الكرار —

After these words who will doubt his being a Sunnī. The value of this work lies in its style rather than in the subject-matter, and so it will be further described later on along with books of literary prose.

VII. Commentaries on the works written outside India: Two.

The Ṣūfiistic philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī has found in India many supporters. Several Indian scholars have written commentaries on his famous work *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, as will be clear from the perusal of the appendix. Of these Indian commentators, 'Alī Mahā'mī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad were scholars of repute. The latter was, as we have already seen, an eminent advocate of the theory of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* and a great admirer and exponent of Ibn 'Arabī's mystic philosophy. 'Alī's commentary is not known to be still in existence. The other commentary, entitled *Tajliyatu 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (تجلية الفصوص), is in the possession of one of the commentator's descendants who is the present representative of his order at Allahabad. Apart from these two commentaries, there is another in the India Office Library, which may be reviewed here. The title of this commentary is *Ḥall Mu'ḍalāt al-Fuṣūṣ* (حل معضلات الفصوص) and the name of the commentator is Amīrullāh b. Munīr Allāh of Bihār. It is not copious, as it explains only some obscure and objectionable passages in the text. One or two of his explanations may be given here.

Ibn 'Arabī in his book says that man is to God what the pupil is to the eye which sees, and that this is the reason why *Insān* (man) is so called. The objection to this statement is that it means that man is an instrument for the sight of God; and this is *Kufr* (heathenism). The commentator offers the following solution. It is admitted that man is the only purpose of the creation of this world. Hence man is the ultimate purpose of God's sight, just as a pupil is the ultimate purpose of the eye. At the most this inconsistency remains that in the case of the eye, the pupil is the efficient cause (*'Illat-i-Fā'ilah*), while in the other, it is the final purpose (*'Illat-i-Ghā'iyyah*). Another objection brought against this same statement is that from Ibn 'Arabī's definition of man, it follows that the world is eternal. The commentator replies that man is *Ḥādith* (*i.e.*, coming into existence in time) in consideration of his actual existence, but eternal in consideration of his being present in the knowledge of God before his existence. The latter is what Ibn 'Arabī means.

2. *Itḥāf al-Sādāt al-Muttaqīn bi Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (اتحاف السادات المتقين بشرح احياء علوم الدين), a commentary on al-Ghahzālī's *Iḥyā'*, by Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā. The commentator was a native of Bilgrām, who after receiving his education from eminent scholars like Shāh Walī Allāh and others, went to the Ḥijāz for further studies. He stayed for a long time at Zabīd, after which he began to be called "Zabīdī." From Zabīd he went to Cairo, where he died in 1205/1790. He was an eminent theologian and philologist of his period. He was the author of many works, of which *Tāj al-'Arūs*, *'Uqūd al-Jawāhir al-Munīfah* (in support of the *Ḥanafī* school), and the work under consideration are the most important. This work has been published in thirteen volumes, litho-graphed in the Maghribī script. In the beginning, the commentator, unlike other commentators, has devoted a considerable space to a full critical account of

al-Ghazālī and his works. While commenting on the text, he fully discusses both sides of all the problems and traces out the chain of the narrators of all the *Ḥadīth* given by the original author. Just as the *Tāj al-'Arūs* is a copious and important commentary on the *Qāmūs*, similarly the present work is a useful and illuminative commentary on the *Iḥyā*. These two great works bear testimony to Murtaḍā's vast knowledge and wonderful learning. India may reasonably be proud of these contributions made to Arabic literature.

VIII. *Lawfulness of Samā' (Music): Three Books.*

Whether *Samā'* is lawful or not is a controversial problem. Some theologians allow it, while others do not; much has been written on this topic outside and inside India. Here three works, representing three different views, may be considered.

1. *Jadd al-Ghanā' fī Ḥurmat al-Ghinā'* (جد الغناء في حرمة الغناء), composed by 'Iṣmat Allāh Sahāranpūrī, (d. after 1090/1679),* who, besides being a theologian, was a mathematician also. His commentary on the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* is far more valuable than the present work. He holds that *Samā'* is unlawful according to the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth*, judgments of jurists and the sayings of the saints and scholars. He mentions all these authorities in various chapters. He says that the so-called *Samā'* did not exist during the first three

* The first half of the title of the book under review (*i.e.*, جد الغناء) is, as mentioned in the introduction, chronogrammatic, indicating the date of its composition as 1090 A.H. (1679). All the books containing a biographical note of his give the date of his death as 1039 A.H. (1629) which is obviously wrong. Most likely it is 1093 and the figure 93 became 39 by an oversight of the first recorder of the date, who, as far as known to the present writer, is Ghulām 'Alī' Azād. Subsequent writers have only copied the date he mentioned without verifying it.

centuries. It crept into Islām at a later period. At the end he refutes all the arguments of the opposite school.

2. *Kashf al-Qinā' 'an Ibāḥat al-Samā'* (كشف القناع عن اباحة السماع), by Salām Allāh b. Shaykh al-Islām, whom we have known as the author of glosses on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and the *Muwaṭṭā* This work represents the opposite opinion on *Samā'*. It is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains *Ḥadīth*; the second, *Āthār*; the third, *Qiyās*; the fourth, the sayings of jurists; and the fifth, the refutation of the arguments of the opposite party.

3. The third book is a small tract on this topic by 'Isā b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Gujarāt. This author takes a moderate view between the two extremes and advises his readers to take the safest course which lies in not indulging in music so far as action is concerned, and in not believing in its unlawfulness so far as theory is concerned.

IX. The Formulæ for invoking God's blessings on the Prophet: Two Books.

As *Ṣalāt*, prayers for the Prophet, plays an important part in *Ṭarīqah* (the 'path'), works on this topic may be included within the scope of Ṣūfiistic literature; and so two such works are reviewed here. Both are by the same writer, Muḥammad 'Alī of Ghiyāthpūr, who is comparatively a modern scholar.

The first work is entitled *Nāṣir al-'Ushshāq* (ناصر العشاق) and contains hundreds of the formulæ for invoking God's blessings upon the Prophet. The author has arranged them under twenty headings, such as parts of his body, his attributes, his garments, his furniture and so forth. The formula, for instance, runs :—

اللهم صل وسلم علي محمد و علي قد محمد في القداد

"O God, send Thy blessings and peace on Muḥammad and on the stature of Muḥammad among all the statures."

In this formula only two words are changing throughout: one is that which is preceded by the second *'Alā*; and the other is that which follows the preposition *Fī*; and the rest of the formula remains unchanged, for instance, the next formula runs:—

اللهم صل على محمد و على بدن محمد في الابدان

"O God send Thy blessings and peace on Muḥammad and the body of Muḥammad among all the bodies."

Here are some more examples:—

في الذوات	محمد	ذات	محمد و على	على	صل وسلم	اللهم
في الاوصاف	,,	وصف	,,	,,	,,	,,
في النعوت	,,	نعت	,,	,,	,,	,,
في الصدور	,,	صدر	,,	,,	,,	,,
في الدمام	,,	دم	,,	,,	,,	,,
في الاثواب	,,	ثوب	,,	,,	,,	,,
في السرر	,,	سرير	,,	,,	,,	,,

This work may be equally taken to serve as a short philological treatise containing words with their broken forms of plural (جمع مكسر) for many things connected and associated with a human being.

The other work is entitled *al-Salām al-Mu'arrā* (السلام المعرا) and contains formulæ of *Ṣalāt*, composed of undotted letters only, just as the very title of the book is devoid of dotted letters. The book begins with a brief introduction composed of undotted letters. The *Ṣalāt* runs as follows:—

اللهم صل وسلم على محمد و امام الهدى

اللهم صل وسلم على محمد صدرة مطلع الهدى

In these formulæ only the last phrase following the word *Muḥammad* changes.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY

Having dealt so far with those branches of Arabic literature which are exclusively theological and religious, I now turn to that department of Islamic studies which lies midway between religion and philosophy—a department which is a connecting link between the aforesaid two opposite systems of human thought and knowledge: I mean Scholastic Theology, which may, with equal force and significance, be called Philosophical Theology or Theological Philosophy.

Just as there is more than one theory as to the derivation of the term *Taṣawwuf,* similarly there is more than one explanation offered for the origin of the technical term *'Ilm al-Kalām.* But just as in the former case there is only one convincing theory (*i.e.*, the derivation of *Taṣawwuf* from the word *Ṣūf*), so in the latter case the only correct explanation is that in the earlier days of Islām when Greek philosophy and Islamic doctrines came into contact with each other, Muslim writers used to discuss philosophical problems under the heading *al-Kalām fī Kadhā,* which way of putting the heading became so common that in course of time it gave the name *al-Kalām* to that science itself which confines its investigations to the philosophical discussion of the theological doctrines.

After this introductory remark, let us see what India has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

Of the numerous works produced in India, twelve deserve mention. They fall under the following heads :—

I. Commentaries on the standard text-books on the Islamic dogmas ... 2 Works.

II.	Text-books on the Islamic dogmas ...	2 Works.
III.	Commentaries on the standard text-books on Scholastic Theology ...	2 "
IV.	Text-books on the same	2 "
V.	Books on Sectarian Controversies ...	3 "
VI.	Scholastic Explanations of the Islamic *Aḥkām* (Injunctions)	1 "
	TOTAL ...	12

I. Commentaries on the Standard Books on the Islamic Dogmas: Two Works.

Outside India many text-books on this topic have been written, of which two are, perhaps, the best known: One is *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* (العقائد النسفية), composed by Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi (534/1139), and the other, *al-'Aqā'id al-Aḍudiyyah* (العقائد العضدية) of Qāḍi 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī (756/1355). On the former, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (791/1389) and on the latter, another famous writer, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'd Allāh al-Dawwānī (907/1501) have written commentaries. Both these texts with their commentaries are widely read, and many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on these commentaries by scholars of later periods. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, whom we have met in connection with several books, has written super commentaries on both the aforesaid commentaries.

In the case of *al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah,* his glosses are not directly on Taftāzānī's commentary but on Mawlā Aḥmad b. Mūsā Khayālī's (860/1456) well-known super-commentary upon which glosses have been composed by several writers. The value of these Indian glosses may be judged from this remark of Ḥājjī Khalīfah: هي احسن الحواشي, مقبولة عند العلماء (It is the best of all the glosses and accepted among the learned.)

In the case of the *al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's glosses are directly upon the first commentary on it by Dawwānī. These glosses are also copious and worthy of the author. But Ḥajjī Khalīfah does not mention them.

II. Text-books on Dogmas: Two Works.

1. *Al-'Aqīdat al-Ḥasanah* (العقيدة الحسنة), composed by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī. This is a small tract comprising all the important and essential formulæ of the Sunnī creeds and dogmas. The present work is not a mere imitation or reproduction of previous works of the same character. It is composed independently of them and is a sort of digest of Sunnī dogmatics. The creeds being the same, the difference lies in the arrangement and exposition and slightly in principles also. Shāh Walī Allāh's work is more lucid and less technical and philosophical than the *'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah* and the *'Aqā'id al-'Aḍudiyyah*. It is briefer also. The beginnings of both the last-mentioned *'Aqā'ids* are philosophical. They start with the various ways of acquiring knowledge and with the *Ḥudūth* of the world. They say: العالم بجميع اجزائه محدث (*i.e.*, the world with all its parts is a thing created) and then by a logical syllogism conclude that for the created there must be a creator. Shāh Walī Allāh, on the other hand, commences his treatise in a rather sentimental way, saying:

اشهد الله ومن حضر من الملائكة , الجن , الانس اني اعتقد من صميم قلبي ان للعالم صانعاً قديماً . . . . . .

(I call upon God and those who are present from amongst angels, genii and men to bear witness that I believe from the core of my heart that for the world there is a Creator eternal . . .)

He asserts from the outset that there is a Maker of the world who is such and such. While mentioning all the

attributes of God, he distinguishes between the ultimate and the immediate causes by saying that none but God cures the ill, none but He gives bread—in this sense that He says to a thing non-existing, *Kun* (come into existence) and it comes at once into existence, and not in the sense in which we say that a physician has cured a patient.

With regard to the Caliphate, all of them are in agreement as to the rightfulness of the first four Caliphs and to their order of succession, but there is a little difference as regards the *Afḍaliyyat* (superiority) of the Caliphs to one another. Nasafī holds that the order of superiority follows that of their succession. Shāh Walī Allāh says: افضل الناس بعد رسول الله ابو بكر ثم عمر (The best of the men after the Prophet is Abū Bakr and then 'Umar), and does not go further, and says nothing about 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The fact is that the superiority of 'Uthmān to 'Alī is not so evident and certain as that of the first two over the last two, and so there is a controversy as to whether 'Uthmān or 'Alī is to have preference over the other. Shāh Walī Allāh has mentioned the most reliable part of the creed and has left the doubtful part untouched. The question of *Afḍaliyyat* is so vital to Shāh Walī Allāh that he thought it necessary to explain what he meant by *Afḍaliyyat*. He says: "We do not mean 'superiority' from every point of view, including lineage and bravery, etc., but on the other hand we take it from the standpoint of utility to Islām, that is to say, *Afḍal* means one who has been most useful and serviceable to Islām."

2. The other work of the nature under consideration is *Mīzān al-'Aqā'id* (ميزان العقائد), written by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of Shāh Walī Allāh. Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was a distinguished scholar, and the author of several works. He died in 1139/1726. The present work is brief but at the same time comprehensive. It has been written after the old fashion of composing a concise text-

book requiring a long array of commentaries and glosses. It is so condensed that even the author himself has written a commentary on it. So this text is followed by a commentary on it by the same writer. It is divided into three sections. The first section deals with beliefs about God, the second with matters relating to prophets, and the third contains eschatological discussions. While adopting a theory mid-way between *Jabr* (Determinism or Fatalism) and *Qadr* (Indeterminism or free will), he has given an interesting instance illustrating thereby the Ash'arite theory of fate and free will. He says that a man has got freedom as to his actions: he may sit down or stand up; may sleep or remain awake as he chooses, but لا اختيار له في ذالك الاختيار (he has no further choice in this choice).. A man may not intend throwing a stone but when he has actually applied any amount of force in throwing it, he is unable to check the necessary consequences.

III. Commentaries on the Standard Books on Scholastic Theology Proper: Two Works.

'Aḍuḍ al-Dīn al-Ījī's (756/1355) book on *'Ilm al-Kalām*, entitled *Mawāqif*, is one of the best Arabic text-books, upon which the distinguished scholar Sayyid Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jurjānī (816/1413) has written a commentary, known as *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, which like the commentaries on the *'Aqā'id* has served as the basis of a large number of super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses.

The first Indian scholar to write a super-commentary was 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot whose name and fame as a commentator is a sufficient guarantee for the merit of this commentary.

The other Indian scholar who wrote another super-commentary on the same work is Mīr Zāhid (1101/1689), a distinguished author of high philosophical attainments, who enjoyed the patronage of Awrangzīb and held the

responsible post of *Ṣadr* at Kābul. Of his super-commentary, the portion relating to the second *Mawqif* (section) on *al-Umūr al-'Āmmah* has held so high a position in the ranks of scholastic literature in India that from the time of the author up to quite recent times it has been almost a fashion for each philosophical scholar to write glosses on it. Some idea of these glosses may be gained from the list given in the appendix.

IV. Text-books on Scholastic Thelogy: Two Works.

1. *Al-Risālat al-Khāqāniyyah* (الرسالة الخاقانية), also entitled *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (الدر الثمين). It is a tract on the scholastic investigation with regard to the problem of the knowledge of God, composed by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot who dedicated it to his royal patron Shāh-jahān. It is divided into two sections. The first is on God's knowledge, and contains three discussions. The first discussion is في اثبات علم الله تعالے (on proving the knowledge of God). He says that God's knowledge is accepted by all except a few ancient philosophers who denied it on the ground that just as the sun radiates its rays without being conscious of so doing, so God is the Creator of all creatures without having any knowledge of them. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm gives to this strange belief of the ancient philosophers a convincing reply, saying that if God is not knowing, then he must be ignorant—a thing which nobody will accept.

Another objection brought by them against the knowledge of God is that knowledge is a relation which presupposes a plurality of things, that is to say, there should be at least two things, *viz.*, one knowing and the other known. If God is knowing, He must know Himself, which means knowledge of Himself, and this is absurd, as knowledge is a relation only conceivable between two things. 'Abu al-Ḥakīm refutes this objection in two ways.

In the first place, *'Ilm* (knowledge) is not a relation but صفة ذات نسبة (an attribute having relation). Secondly, if *'Ilm* is regarded as a *Nisbah*, even then there is no difficulty, for one thing may be both subjective and objective.

The second discussion relates to the nature of God's knowledge. God's knowledge, says he, is either identified with His Being or is something different. If something different, it either stands by itself or by the personality of God. Ancient philosophers generally hold that God's knowledge is exactly identified with His Personality, while the Ash'arites believe that it is other than God's Being but is dependent upon it.

The third discussion is confined to the problems concerning the universality of God's knowledge. He holds that God knows both the universal and the particular.

In the (2) second section the author deals with the *Takfīr* (accusing of infidelity) of philosophers. He quotes and explains the opinion of al-Ghazālī who has declared that there are twenty problems in which the philosophers differ from Muslims, out of which the following three problems make them *Kāfir* :—

(1) Their belief in the eternity of the world ;
(2) Their denial of the resurrection of the body ;
(3) Their holding that God knows the universal and not the particular.

This tract is interesting and lucid in its manner of discussing the subject.

2. The next Indian book on *'Ilm al-Kalām* is *Bahr al-Madhāhib* (بحرالمذاهب), composed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb, entitled Mun'im Khān of Qannawj, who dedicated it to Awrangzīb, to whose court he was attached. This work is on the line of the *Mawāqif*, with this difference, that the *Bahr al-Madhāhib* covers the scope of the last three sections of the *Mawāqif*. In his introduction,

the author gives a long list of those works by the help of which he has written this book, and explains the technical terms of scholastic theology. As to the rest, it is a reproduction of what the standard books such as the *Mawāqif* and its commentary contain, with some additional problems not dealt with by the *Mawāqif*. The style is easier and less complicated than that of the *Mawāqif* and *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. It may advantageously be read as an introduction to scholastic theology.

V. Sectarian Controversies: Three Works.

1. *Al-Muqaddimat al-Saniyyah fī Intiṣār al-Firqat al-Sunniyyah* (المقدمة السنية في انتصار الفرقة السنية), originally composed in Persian by Shaykh Aḥmad Fāruqī entitled "*Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī*", one of the greatest Ṣūfīs India ever produced, and translated into Arabic by a great Indian theologian of equal eminence, Shāh Walī Allāh, at the request of the scholars of the Ḥijāz when the translator, in the course of a talk on the Sunnī and Shī'ite controversies, referred to the original text.

The learned translator did not confine himself to a mere translation but has also added useful explanatory and critical notes here and there—which fact has made the work still more valuable. He has also differed in several places from the original author, and has pointed out his mistakes. Shāh Walī Allāh has given a critical account of the author's merits and attainments and of the services he rendered to the cause of bridging over the gulf between Ṣūfīism and orthodoxy. The translator, while criticising the heretical characteristics of the time of Akbar and his son, Jahāngīr, remarks that it is curious to note that just as this period of Indian history produced a good deal of heresy and irreligiousness, on the other hand it turned out a large number of Ṣūfīs and learned men, of whom he has

given a short list. Among the former (Ṣūfīs), he mentions Khwājah Muḥammad Bāqī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddūs, Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior, and Shaykh Aḥmad, and among the latter (learned men) he gives the names of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 'Abd al-Nabī, Makhdūm al-Mulk, and Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī. This treatise, Arabicised and enlarged, has been further annotated by the translator's son, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, who in his turn differs in places from his father and agrees with the original author.

2. Another work of exactly the same nature is the *Radd al-Shī'ah* (رد الشيعة) by Mullā Muḥammad Muḥsin who was one of the eminent scholars of Kashmīr and well versed in philosophy and theology. He died in 1191/1777. This work is one of the best books ever written on the Sunnī and Shī'ī controversies from the Sunnī standpoint. Some of the arguments contained in the book may be given here.

A.—Had 'Alī been a *Ma'ṣūm* (infallible) Imām, he would not have committed errors in giving Fatwās. Here the author enumerates some of his errors, one of which is that he allowed the sale of *Umm Walad* (a woman slave who has given birth to a child).

B.—Some of those *Ṣaḥābah* and *Tābi'ūn* who were among his party did not agree with some of his decisions, *e.g.*, when 'Alī ordered some of the Khārijites to be burnt, Ibn 'Abbās remarked " I would not have done that, had I been in his place."

C.—Had he been a *Manṣūb* (Divinely appointed) Imām, the Prophet would not have asked Abū Bakr to lead the prayers during his illness.

D.—If he was the rightful successor, why did he not take allegiance from 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān, who were ready to give it ?

E.—Supposing Abū Bakr and 'Umar were usurpers, was it not unlawful for a *Manṣūb* Imām to co-operate with

them, to share the booty, and to enjoy other privileges? Why did he acknowledge them as Caliphs? He should have gone to some other country, as did Sa'd who did not swear allegiance to them but migrated to Syria. Even a humble Ṣaḥābī such as Bilāl did not recognise them. Why did 'Alī, so well-known for bravery and valour, fear them? If he practised *Taqiyyah* (pious fraud or subterfuge), why did not Ḥusayn do the same? One of them must be wrong.

F.—Had he been a *Manṣūb* Imām, he would not have consented to be a member of the council appointed by 'Umar to select his successor from amongst them, because the appointment of this council clearly implies that there was no *Manṣūb* Imām. When 'Alī agreed to be a member of it, he *ipso facto* accepted the underlying principle of the council.

G.—Just as a prophet cannot abandon his claim to be such, similarly a *Manṣūb* Imām cannot do so.

H.—If he had positive proofs (*Nuṣūṣ*) for his being a *Manṣūb* Imām, he would certainly have shown them to the people.

I.—If 'Umar was an usurper and so *Mardūd* (rejected), why did 'Alī marry his daughter to him?

3. Several books have been written in India on this topic from the Shī'ī standpoint, but the present writer has failed to find any except one representing the Shī'ī view, not, however, dealing with the Shī'ī and Sunnī controversies but with Ṣūfiism. It is *al-Shihāb al-Thāqib* (الشہاب الثاقب) by Sayyid Dildār 'Alī who was a Shī'ī *Mujtahid* and a distinguished scholar in his time, and the author of several books. He died in 1235/1819. The present book was written in refutation and rejection of Ṣūfiism. It contains an introduction and four sections called *Maqṣad* (plu. *Maqāṣid*) of various lengths, being further divided into chapters and sub-chapters, almost

according to the same plan as that adopted in the *Mawāqif*.

In the introduction the author confines himself to the discussion of the thesis that existence is a self-evident truth which requires no further proof.

The first *Maqṣad*, divided into eight chapters, deals with problems concerning the unity and plurality of existence and the Being of God. The author repudiates the pantheistic theory of the Ṣūfīs. This section is wholly scholastic and philosophical. The second *Maqṣad*, divided into six chapters, is devoted to the traditional treatment of the question. The third *Maqṣad* with its seven chapters dwells upon *Kashf* (revelation), one full chapter, further divided into eleven sub-chapters, is confined to finding fault with eleven eminent Ṣūfīs, Ibn 'Arabī, Ḥasan Baṣrī, Abū Sufyān Thawrī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, and Ḥakīm Sanā'ī.

His whole argument is that if they had been real saints they would not have committed blunders and follies.

The fourth *Maqṣad* is comparatively short and is a sort of an apology for a doubt or objection that may be raised against his theory that if *Kashf* had been something true and real, there would have been no difference in such revealed matters. The objection brought against this theory is that such differences are possible in the process of thinking also, to which he replies that in thinking there is still some standard or criterion to which one may refer, but in *Kashf* even such a standard is not possible.

The chief aim of the book is to refute the theory of *Waḥadat al-Wujūd*, in doing which he may be successful, but by the way it refutes Ṣūfīism also. In this respect, it is a

failure. The author has succeeded in proving neither by traditions nor by reason the absurdity of Ṣūfiism. His chief point against these eleven Ṣūfīs whom he has condemned is that they were not Shī'ah and so cannot be right. Among them the author says of Ḥakīm Sanā'ī only that according to some he was a Shī'ah. About Ḥasan Baṣrī he remarks that he has been called the Sāmirī of his age by 'Alī.

VI. Scholastic Explanations of the Islamic Commands and Prohibitions: One Work.

Under this heading one work deserves notice. It is *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة) which has been briefly discussed under the category of books on *Ḥadīth*. But as this book is rather in the nature of scholastic theology than *Ḥadīth*, a fuller account may not be out of place here.

Mawlānā Shiblī,* one of the great modern Indian critics, puts Shāh Walī Allāh, the author of the book, in the third period of the Islamic scholastic theology, along with two great scholars, Ibn Rushd (595/1198) and Ibn Taymiyyah (728/1327). Shāh Walī Allāh has not written any book exclusively on scholastic theology, and so outwardly it does not seem proper to reckon him among scholastic theologians. But his *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, in which he explains the Islamic injunctions, is in the true spirit of scholastic theology. The object of this Islamic science is to prove the truth of the Islamic faith and religion. Now a religion consists of two parts: beliefs and injunctions. All the books that had been written hitherto on scholastic theology dwelt on the first part of the religion, *i.e.*, beliefs and creeds, and did not touch the other part at all. Shāh Walī Allāh was the first author to write a book on this

*Shiblī *'Ilm al-Kalām* (Introduction).

topic. While mentioning the advantages to be gained from his book, he states in his introduction that just as the Prophet was given the miracle of the Qur'ān, the like of which could never be produced by 'Arabs or non-'Arabs, similarly the religion that he was given was also a miracle, because to bring forth a religion which may be perfect in every way is also beyond human power. He states further that just as many books have been written about the Qur'ān being a miracle, similarly there should also be books dealing with the miraculous nature of that religion. Then he adds that there are persons who think that many Islamic injunctions are irrational. For instance, they say that tortures in the grave, the judgment, the bridge, the scale, etc., have nothing to do with rationality. Similarly it may be said that it is absurd that the fasting of the month of Ramaḍān is incumbent while fasting on the first day of the next month is unlawful. Again, what is related by way of inducements and warnings is also foolish. The author says that in order to meet all these objections and doubts it is necessary to prove the rationality of all these things. These two objectives of his book, that is, to discuss the miraculous nature of the Islamic religion and to prove the rationality of the Islamic injunctions, form the most important part of scholastic theology. This is the reason why the *Ḥujjat Allāh al-Bāligẖah* may be regarded as a treatise on the above-mentioned science.

Those important problems of scholastic theology on which the author has dwelt in his book are as follows :—

1. The reason why man has been created responsible.
2. There is no change or break in God's habit or nature.
3. The reality of the soul.
4. The reality of reward and punishment.
5. The reality of matters relating to the resurrection and the next world.

6. *'Ālam al-Mithāl.*
7. The reality of *Nubuwwat* (Prophecy).
8. The origin of all religions is the same.
9. The reason why God brought religion into existence.
10. The necessity for a religion cancelling all the previous ones.

'Ālam al-Mithāl is the most important doctrine of his philosophy. There are many *Ḥadīth* which indicate that in this universe there is another world which is not material and in which things appear before they come into existence in this world. This new world is called *'Ālam al-Mithāl.* He has given many *Ḥadīth* of this type, some of which may be quoted here to show their nature :—

1. The Qur'ānic *Sūrahs al-Baqarah* and *al-'Imrān* (II, III) will appear on the day of judgment in the form of a cloud.
2. On the day of judgment, actions will present themselves. The prayers will come first of all, and then almsgiving, and then fasting.
3. I see tumults raining upon your houses.

After mentioning many *Ḥadīth* of this type, he says that about these events there may be three views :

(1) Either to take them literally; then one has to believe in *'Ālam al-Mithal* ;

(2) One may think that they are made to appear like that, while in reality they are not so ; or

(3) They are to be taken allegorically.

Shāh Walī Allāh does not reckon those who hold the third view among *Ahl al-Ḥaqq.* He has so considerably enlarged the scope of this *'Ālam al-Mithāl* that things such as the Prophet's seeing Gabriel, angels visiting the dead in their graves, etc., have been put in this *'Ālam al-Mithāl.* Shiblī remarks that if the author's explanation of these

Ḥadīth be accepted by other theologians, there remains little or no difference between religion and philosophy. But the writer of the present thesis does not agree with the Shāh on this point. The first objection is that in order to explain away the irrationality of some statements made in *Ḥadīth*, he has to believe in the existence of a world which is not supported by our ordinary experience; or the argument for the existence of this new world may be said to be arguing in a vicious circle; he believes in *'Ālam al-Mithāl* because these *Ḥadīth* contain statements which necessitate this belief, and these statements are true because there is an *'Ālam al-Mithāl*. Secondly, I cannot understand how this *Ḥadīth*, for instance, that *Sūrahs al-Baqarah* and *al-'Imrān* will appear in the form of a cloud on the day of judgment, can be explained by his theory of *'Ālam al-Mithāl*. What is the relation between a thing in the *'Ālam al-Mithāl* and the same thing in the physical world? I mean to say that if the *Sūrah al-Baqarah* and the *Sūrah al-'Imrān* are like a cloud in *'Ālam al-Mithāl*, what are they like in the actual world, and what is the relation between the two? I also do not see what objection there is to these *Ḥadīth* being taken allegorically.

This theory of *'Ālam al-Mithāl* is not altogether a new one. It may be compared to the *'Ālam Ashbāḥ* of Shaykh al-Ishrāq Shihāb al-Dīn and the *Tamthīl-i-Khayālī* of al-Ghazālī, according to whom existence is of four kinds: *Dhātī*, *Ḥissī*, *Khayālī*, and *'Aqlī*.

The literature on Islamic scholastic theology, available in the time of the author and studied by him, consisted of the works of the later Ash'arites only. Being a man of somewhat independent thinking and some originality, he generally differed from them in many matters. Some of his own new arguments and explanations may be given here.

1. One of the defects of *'Ilm al-Kalām* was that it made no attempt to meet the objections raised by the

opponents against the Qur'ān. Books like the *Mawāqif*, etc., deal with the objections regarding the eloquence of the Qur'ān but contain nothing on the objections concerning the subject-matter of the Qur'ān. Some commentators have replied to them, but their answers are not satisfactory. They have, for instance, said in reply to the objection brought against the repetition of matters in the Qur'ān, that the object is to show command over the language. What an absurd reply! To express one idea in so many ways may be a credit to a human being—to scholars like Ḥarīrī and others—but not to God. Shāh Walī Allāh has dealt with this problem in a new way. Teaching, says he, is of two kinds; one is mere teaching and nothing more, *i.e.*, a teaching the object of which is to let the hearer know what he does not know; and the other teaching is an efficient one, *i.e.*, to teach a thing in such a way that it is not only brought home to the hearer but it also makes him take great pleasure and delight in it, and this efficient teaching is achieved by repetition of the matter in different expressions.

2. His reply to the objections brought against the Qur'ān of lacking any kind of arrangement or order, has already been mentioned in connection with his book *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*.

3. One of the objections put forward against the Qur'ān is that in many places grammatical rules are broken. His reply is that the ancient Arabs of *al-Jāhiliyyah*, while making speeches, used to employ ungrammatical expressions, but as these ungrammatical expressions were used by genuine Arabs, they were regarded as accurate idioms. The Qur'ān has followed these idioms, which may be ungrammatical, *i.e.*, not agreeing with grammar systematised later on, but not incorrect or unidiomatic.

4. All scholars hitherto have regarded the Qur'ān as a miracle from the standpoint of the elegance of the

style, but it was the Shāh who asserted that the great miracle of the Qur'ān is that its teaching about morals, the purification of the soul, the Oneness of God, the prophetic office, and the next world is beyond human power to conceive.

5. He holds that the universe is subject to a law or laws which are never broken.

6. About miracles he says that they are matters produced by natural causes, the only difference between them and ordinary events being that in the former case perfection is predominant. Contrary to the Ash'arites, he holds that miracles and the acceptance of prayers by God and the like are outside the reality of the prophetic office, although they are associated with it in most cases.

CHAPTER VII

PHILOSOPHY

Having dealt with the contribution of India to Scholastic literature in Arabic, we will now consider what she has contributed to philosophy in the same language. Philosophy is the only non-theological subject in which Indian scholars writing in Arabic have taken much interest —an interest which is next to that manifested by them in religious studies. Though many a book has been written on this subject in India, yet we must not expect anything quite new and different from what had been achieved in that direction outside India. As already pointed out more than once, Arabic books written in India date from the eleventh century of the Christian era, when Arabic learning had reached a limit beyond which it failed to progress further. Since that century the activities of the Muslim world have been largely confined to the making of commentaries and the reproduction of old materials. Moreover, it must also be borne in mind that philosophy is a subject in which even the early Muslim scholars in the centres of Islamic learning achieved nothing original. De Boer is right when he says that "Muslim philosophy has always continued to be an eclecticism which depended on their stock of works translated from Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation. It has not distinguished itself either by propounding new problems or by any peculiarity in its endeavour to solve the old ones." To this remark I may add that if scholastic theology be included in philosophy, then it may be said that the Muslim scholars have somewhat

tried to solve some old problems under the guidance of their creeds and dogmas, in ways different from those of the Greek philosophers. I have deliberately used the word "somewhat", because even scholastic theologians have taken food for their arguing from Greek philosophy. They have accepted all those doctrines and thoughts which fitted in with their creed, and with the help of the arguments for those doctrines, they have tried to refute those philosophical conclusions which were opposed to their religion. Muslim scholastic theology is largely taken up with the refutation of certain doctrines of Greek philosophy from the standpoint of Islamic orthodoxy. Anyhow when Muslim philosophers like Kindī, Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd produced so little that is original, how can anything new be expected from Arabic writers in India? If Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā have expounded the philosophy of the Greek philosophers in their writings, Indian authors have only performed a similar service for a later generation in India.

The Indian scholars have shown greater and keener interest in the study of logic than in physics and metaphysics. I think that Muslim logicians have added something to that knowledge of logic which they learnt from the Greek. As far as is known to me, no effort has been made as yet to compare the logic of the Muslims with that of Greece, starting with a comparison between the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Organon* and the Greek text in order to find the original significance of the terms and how their meaning was changed in course of time, and then tracing the gradual development of Arabian logic in order to discover what new contribution the Muslim logicians made to Aristotle's logic.

The hold of logic on the minds of the Muslim thinkers has been so strong that whatever problems they may discuss they do so in an exact and logical manner. To illustrate

what I mean, I may give here an instance. To take the problem whether or not there is a God, a Muslim philosophical writer will argue in the following way, taking all the possibilities into consideration :—

There is either a God or no God. If there is a God, He may be one or more than one. If more than one, they are either independent of each other or not. In the same way he will take all possibilities into consideration in case there is no God. And then he will start discussion and examination from the bottom upwards, eliminating and rejecting what is absurd to him, and thus finally proving what he holds to be the true solution of the problem.

The contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature is so considerable that a separate treatise might be written on this subject. Therefore before I discuss the contribution of India to philosophic thought, I propose to give here a short account of the writers themselves.

The first great scholar of high philosophical attainments who promoted the study of philosophy in India was 'Abd Allāh of Tulunba, a village in Multan. He left his native place for Delhi in the reign of Sikandar Lūdī and settled there. The king had a great respect for his learning and used to attend his lectures, taking a seat unnoticed in a corner of the lecture-room so that the class might not be disturbed. He is the first Indian author who wrote on philosophy. He compiled a commentary entitled *Badī' al-Mīzān* on a logical treatise known as *Mīzān al-Manṭiq.* This commentary with the text is still widely read by the students of logic in India.

Then comes the famous Mullā Maḥmūd of Jawnpūr (1062/1651), after whose death his learned teacher Muḥammad Afḍal smiled no more. The shock was so great that he survived his pupil only for forty days. Maḥmūd was an eminent scholar in his time and was a contemporary

of two other equally distinguished men of letters, one 'Abd al-Rashīd (1083/1672) Jawnpūrī, and the other 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot. Maḥmūd is the author of several works of which *al-Ḥikmat al-Bālighah* with a commentary by the same author entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* and *al-Dawḥah* are well-known. 'Abd al-Rashīd wrote a commentary entitled *al-Rashīdiyyah* on Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī's treatise on dialectics. This commentary is still widely studied in India. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot also wrote several commentaries on the text-books of philosophy.

These scholars were followed by Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid, son of Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam (1101/1689) and the famous Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār (1119/1707). The former was a scholar noted for high philosophical attainments. He was first attached to the court of Shāh-jahān and after his death to that of his successor. He wrote three glosses on three standard books, *viz.*, on the *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* referred to in the last chapter, the *Sharḥ al-Tahdhīb* and the *Risālat al-Quṭbiyyah*. The two last works will be discussed later on. All these three sets of glosses are generally known as *al-Ḥawāshī al-Thalāthat al-Zāhidiyyah* (الحواشي الثلثة الزاهدية).

Qāḍī Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, as we have seen in the *Fiqh* section of this book, was the author of three works, one on the principles of *Fiqh*, entitled *Musallam al-Thubūt*, discussed already, the second on logic, *Sullam al-'Ulūm*, and the third a small treatise on a philosophical problem, *al-Jawhar al-Fard*. All these works are highly esteemed in India, and the *Sullam* has long been accepted as a standard work upon which no less than half a dozen eminent scholars have written independent commentaries.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that before the advent of the Mughals in India there was only one scholar, namely, 'Abd Allāh, who was especially

interested in philosophic studies. But it was during the Mughal period that several eminent scholars of philosophical attainments flourished. The courts of Shāh-jahān and 'Ālamgīr especially proved to be a magnet to attract scholars. During the decline of this dynasty we find that the states of Rāmpūr and Lucknow extended patronage to men of letters. Here a respectable and learned family of Khayrābād deserves notice. Of this family three generations, the grandfather, the father and the son, were noted for their abilities in philosophic learning. The grandfather was Faḍl Imām (1243/1827) who wrote a text-book on logic entitled *Mirqāt* and a commentary entitled *Tashḥīdh al-Adhhān* on the *Badī' al-Mīzān* mentioned above. His son, Faḍl al-Ḥaqq, was a greater scholar. He wrote a text-book on physics entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-Sa'īdiyyah*; which he dedicated to Sa'īd al-Dīn Khān, Nawwāb of Rāmpūr, to whose court he was attached. His son, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, was also an eminent scholar noted for philosophical attainments. His commentary on the well-known text-book on philosophy, entitled *Hidāyat al-Ḥikmah,* is still appreciated in India.

Besides them, Qāḍī Mubārak, Ḥamd Allāh, Aḥmad 'Alī, Muḥammad Mubīn, Mullā Ḥasan, Baḥr al-'Ulūm and other scholars known as *Ulamā'-i-Farangī Maḥall* have been logicians of reputation in India. But it is a matter of regret than none of these scholars deviated from the beaten track of the old philosophy. They did not aspire to do more than write commentaries on the system of Logic devised by Ibn Sīnā, with merely slight and verbal differences here and there. Their philosophy was confined to the exposition of what had already been said by Ibn Sīnā whom they call al-Shaykh.

No branch of learning was so much misused in India as were grammar and logic. For the former they sacrificed the study of pure literature for which the study of grammar

serves but as a means. Similarly they studied logic for its own sake, though it was originally intended to serve as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge. Their merely verbal and technical discussions have won them a bad reputation in India, and many stories are current which reveal the attitude of the public towards the logicians. One or two may not be out of place here.

Once a father and a son sat together to take their food. There was, among other things, only one egg, meant for both. "What are you learning these days?" asked the father. "Logic," was the reply. "What is that?" the father continued. "It is a science," rejoined the youth, "by which I can prove that this one egg is two." "Do, please!" said the father eagerly, whereupon the son began to prove his contention by processes of logic which were, of course, unintelligible to his father, concluding his speech by saying, "Therefore, this egg is two." "I am very glad," said his father, "that you have proved the existence of two eggs in this dish. I shall take this, and you can take the other one."

The other story is that a student of logic, on his way to school, came across the old-fashioned oil-pressing machine worked by an ox. He stopped there for a while, and having observed the whole construction of the machine, approached the owner who was sitting on one side, and said to him, "I have been able to understand the use and purpose of all the parts of the machine, but I cannot comprehend why you have hung a bell around the neck of the ox." "So that," replied the man, "I may know while sitting here that the ox is moving." "But," rejoined the young logician, "the animal may keep his neck moving instead, while he himself is standing still." Whereupon, the machine-man, realising that the young enquirer was a logician, dismissed the matter by simply saying that his ox was not a logician.

Now I propose to give a detailed account of the contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature.

Of all the works on philosophy written in India, about twenty-five deserve notice. They fall under three main divisions:

I.	Commentaries on the standard text-books on dialectics	2
II.	Philosophy proper (Physics and Metaphysics):	
	A. Text-books	4
	B. Commentaries:	
	(i) On foreign works ...	3
	(ii) On Indian works ...	3
III.	Works on Logic:	
	A. Text-books	3
	B. Commentaries:	
	(i) On foreign works ...	6
	(ii) On Indian works ...	4
	TOTAL ...	25

I. Commentaries on the Standard Text-Books on Dialectics: Two Works.

On dialectics there are two well-known text-books; one is *al-Risālat al-'Aḍudiyyah* (الرسالة العضدية), composed by 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī (756/-1355) and the other, '*al-Ādāb al-Sharīfiyyah* (الاداب الشريفية) of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jurjānī (816/-1413). On the former two Indian scholars have written commentaries: one is Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1150/1737), and the other 'Abd al-Ḥayy, a much later prolific writer of Lucknow (1304/1886). His commentary, entitled *al-Hadiyyat al-Mukhtāriyyah*, is copious and has almost surpassed all previous works of the same character, as the

commentator incorporated them in his work; but as the author does not properly belong to the period covered by the present thesis, I need not say anything more about his work.

The treatise on dialectics by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, being more detailed and elaborate than that of 'Aḍud al-Dīn, has been much more commonly used. Upon this text two contemporary Indian scholars wrote commentaries: one commentary is entitled *al-Ādāb al-Bāqiyyah* (الآداب الباقيه), composed by 'Abd al-Bāqī (1084/1673), and the other is *al-Ādāb al-Rashīdiyyah* (الآداب الرشيديه), by a greater scholar, 'Abd al-Rashīd of Jawnpūr (1083/1672), who was noted for his vast learning and piety. When the emperor Shāh-jahān heard of his high qualifications, he sent him an invitation. But 'Abd al-Rashīd did not accept it. His commentary, being more detailed and copious than the other one, attracts a greater degree of attention than the former.

This commentary contains an introduction, nine discourses, and an appendix. The introduction deals with the definitions of all the terms of this science. *Munāẓarah* (dialectics) is defined as a discussion between two rivals on a certain topic for the purpose of arriving at the truth. According to this definition a discourse is said to be *'Illat Ṣūriyyah* (formal cause); opponents, *'Illat Fā'iliyyah* (active cause); the topic, *'Illat Māddiyah* (material cause); and lastly, seeking the truth, *'Illat Ghā'iyyah* (final cause). The commentator lays much emphasis on the last, the absence of which changes *Munāẓarah* into *Mujādalah* or *Mukābarah* (a dispute for supremacy).

The gist of the first discourse of the book is that if a man, called *Mudda'ī* (assertor), makes an assertion with which another man, called *Sā'il* (enquirer), does not agree, the latter will demand proof, saying "I do not admit what you say," whereupon the assertor will submit his

arguments. This demand of proof is technically called *Man'*. The opponent (*i.e.*, the enquirer) can either reject it on account of some logical fault (this way of refutation being called *Naqḍ*) or oppose it with a counter argument, saying "I have an argument which proves the contrary," (this way of rejection being called *Mu'āraḍah*). His argument being opposed by the opponent, the original assertor now assumes the position of an opponent (*Sā'il*), and the original *Sā'il* becomes an assertor (*Mudda'ī*). This process of the exchange of their respective positions will go on for some time until the truth is arrived at.

The second discourse says that before a debate is started, each word in the assertion should be clearly defined, in order to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity. This definition is also subject to the above-mentioned ways of opposition, *viz.*, *Man'*, *Naqḍ*, and *Mu'āraḍah*. But to demand definition for those words which both parties understand well does not become a proper *Munāẓarah*.

The third discourse deals with quotations. References may be demanded for quotations, provided that the enquirer does not know them, otherwise it becomes *Mujādalah* instead of *Munāẓarah*.

The next four discourses dwell elaborately and individually upon the detailed explanations of *Man'*, *Naqḍ*, and *Mu'āraḍah*.

The eighth discourse discusses how an assertor becomes an opponent and *vice versa*. The ninth discourse directs the reader not to argue if the assertor or the opponent, as the case may be, is not serious in the debate, and is intentionally committing a fallacy.

II. Books on Philosophy proper: (A) Text-books: ***Four.***

1. *Al-Dawḥat al-Mayyādah fī Ḥadīqat al-Ṣūrah wa 'l-Māddah* (الدوحة المیادہ في حديقة الصورہ و المادہ), a treatise on the discussion of "form and matter" by Mullā Maḥmūd of

Jawnpūr mentioned above. In this treatise he says that all thinkers agree that in a physical body there is something which admits of changes. There is a good deal of controversy as to what that thing is. *Al-Ḥukamā' al-Ishrāqiyyūn* (the intuitionists) hold that it is the very essence of a body (*Nafs al-Jism*). Scholastic theologians are of the opinion that it is the indivisible part (*al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā*) of the body, while *al-Ḥukamā' al-Mashshā 'ūn* Peripatetic philosophers) advance this theory that every physical body is composed of two essential and inseparable things: one is matter (*Haynlā*) and the other is form (*Ṣūrah*). No form without matter and no matter without form. The author supports this theory and refutes others.

2. *Al-Ḥikmat al-Bāligham* (الحكمة البالغة), by the same author. This book was meant to cover all the branches of philosophy, logic, physics and metaphysics, but as the author commenced it during his last illness, only two out of six or eight sections of physics were completed, and the other two branches of philosophy, *viz.*, logic, and metaphysics, remained untouched. The author also wrote upon it a commentary entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* (الشمس البازغة), which will be noticed again later on. Both the text and the commentary are widely studied by the students of Arabic in India.

3. *Al-Jawhar al-Fard* (الجوهر الفرد), by Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, whom we have known as the author of the *Musallam al-Thubūt*. In this tract the author deals with *Juz' lā Yatajazzā* (indivisible part), also called *al-Jawhar al-Fard*. This work is almost on the same line as the *Dawḥat al-Mayyādah* by Mullā Maḥmūd, with this difference, that the scope of the latter is a little wider, as it deals with both form and matter, while the *Jawhar al-Fard* is confined to the discussions concerning the indivisible part only. About the divisibility and indivisibility of an ultimate part there are four theories. The majority

of the scholastic theologians hold that a body is composed of limited, *i.e.*, further indivisible parts, which are actually present in it; while Abū 'l-Fatḥ Shahrastānī, the author of the *Kitābu 'l-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal,* differs from the above opinion in denying the actual presence of the indivisible parts in a whole, but holds that they are only there potentially. The third theory is that a body is composed of unlimited (*i.e.*, always divisible) parts which are actually present in the whole. This doctrine is advocated by Naẓẓām al-Mu'tazilī. The fourth theory supports the potential presence rather than the actual presence of unlimited parts. This theory is held by the majority of Muslim philosophers and by some scholastic theologians of philosophical tendencies also.

The author simply reproduces all the arguments used by previous writers. There is hardly anything new, except the style and the way of exposition, and the fact that he has collected all the arguments given by different authors in one place. Of all the four theories, he is active in refuting the theory of *al-Jawhar al-Fard* held by the scholastic theologians. He has given several mathematical proofs in refutation of this theory. One or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) Every line can be divided into two or three equal parts. If one line consists of one or three so-called indivisible atoms, its division into half means the further breaking up of the middle atom.

(2) According to the 39th theorem of Euclid, the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum on the squares on the remaining two sides. If one atom is one unit long and one unit wide, the hypotenuse will be greater than one and less than two units, which means that an atom is to be further broken up.

(3) If you draw a circle on a so-called indivisible atom, it will touch the four sides of the atom on four

points only, and the rest of the circle will run inside the atom, dividing it further.

One or two arguments of the holders of the opposite view may also be given here. Their chief argument is that if a straight line is drawn touching a circle, they will meet each other at a point only which is the ultimate part of the circle or the line, and cannot be divided further, as a point has no capacity for division.

The other argument advanced by them runs like this: If you say that a mountain has unlimited atoms just as a small grain has, then why is the mountain so much bigger than a grain, although both of them are composed of unlimited atoms?

It is a curious thing that most scholastic theologians hold this theory of *al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā* because thereby they can refute the doctrine of the eternity of the world, as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwāni says in his commentary on the *'Aqā'id* that by establishing the existence of this theory one can be safe from many heathen arguments of the philosophers; while Muslim scholars of philosophical tendencies such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', Athīr al-Dīn Abharī, the author of the *Hidāyat al-Ḥikmah*, Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī and Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, who wrote an excellent work on the principles of Jurisprudence —all these people, in spite of being staunch Muslims, hold the contrary view and with the same purpose.

4. The fourth text-book on philosophy is *al-Hadiyyat al-Sa'īdiyyāh* (الهدية السعيديه), composed by a later scholar named Faḍl Ḥaqq Khayrābādī (1278/1861) who was noted for being well versed in philosophical studies. This book was dedicated to Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān, the Nawwāb of Rāmpūr. As this book is a good example of a text-book on physics ultimately based on the Aristotelian philosophy, a fuller account may not be undesirable.

It begins with the definition and classification of *Ḥikmah* (wisdom). *Ḥikmah* means knowledge of the realities of things as they are, as far as is possible for human beings and the performance of those acts which lead a man to perfection. Things are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which lie in our power and those which do not. Knowledge about the former is called *al-Ḥikmat al-'Amaliyyah,* for things lying within our power are only our actions. This *al-Ḥikmat al-'Amaliyyah* (practical wisdom) is divided into three sub-divisions, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (ethics), *al-Tadbīr al-Manzilī* (domestic science), and *al-Siyāsat al-Mudaniyyah* (politics), for human actions are either those which concern the doer only, or those which affect a family, or those which are connected with the members of a city or state.

As to those things which do not lie in the power of a man, knowledge of them is called *al-Ḥikmat al-Naẓariyyah,* which is further divided into three sub-divisions, *'Ilm al-Ilāhī* (higher philosophy or metaphysics), *'Ilm al-Riyāḍī* (mathematics) and *'Ilm al-Ṭabī'ī* (physics).

But what place is there for logic ? Some have defined *Ḥikmah* in such a way that logic is included among its branches, while others regard it as an instrument for the acquirement of knowledge in the same way as a language.

'Ilm al-Ṭabī'ī is again divided into eight branches :

(1) *'Ilm al-Samā' al-Ṭabī'ī* (Auscultatio Physics):
(2) *'Ilm al-Samā' wa 'l-'Ālam* (De coelo et mundo);
(3) *'Ilm al-Kawn wa 'l-Fasād* (De generatione et corruptione) ;
(4) *'Ilm al-Fi'l wa 'l-Infi'āl* (De sensu et sensato) ;
(5) *'Ilm al-Āthār al-'Ulwiyyah* (Meteorology) ;
(6) *'Ilm al-Nafs* (Psychology) ;
(7) *'Ilm al-Nabāt* (Botany) ;
(8) *'Ilm al-Ḥaywān* (Zoology).

Al-hadiyyah covers the third section of *al-Ḥikmat al-Naẓariyyah,* namely, *al-Ḥikmat al-Ṭabī'iyyah,* with all its branches. It contains an introduction and three sections called *Funūn.* In the Introduction the author discusses those data of physics which, as a matter of fact, fall within the scope of the higher section of philosophy, *viz.,* metaphysics. What are those data? A physical body and its definition, that is all; in other words, the controversial question of *al-Juz' lā Yatajazzā.* The author follows the creed of the philosophers and impugns the theory of *al-Jawhar al-Fard.*

The first section, divided into several sub-sections, dwells on *Ausculatio Physica, i.e.,* on those properties and accidents, common and inevitable to all bodies, whether heavenly or earthly. These properties are as follows:—

(1) Space (*makān*), which according to some consists of length, and height, and according to others is identified with surface. The author holds the latter view. He also believes in the impossibility of an absolute vacuum.

(2) *Ḥayyiz* (place of penetration) which is more general than space.

(3) Shape, due to the very nature of the body.

(4) Motion and rest.

Motion is defined as a gradual shifting from potentiality to actuality. Six things are inevitable for motion: 1. a moving body; 2. a mover; 3. space of journey; 4. a beginning; 5. an end; and 6. speed.

Motion takes place in four aspects: Space, Form, Quantity, and Quality. Motion is of two kinds; *Dhātī* (essential), and *'Āriḍī* (accidental), the former being further divided into three varieties:

(*i*) *Ṭabī'iyyah* (physical), *e.g.,* the falling of a stone from a height;

(*ii*) *Qasriyyah* (compulsory or forced), *e.g.*, the rising of a stone when somebody throws it up;

(*iii*) *Irādī* (intentional), *e.g.*, the movement of animals.

Every body, though resting, has always an inclination to move. This inclination is always resisting any obstacle to its motion. Any body devoid of this inclination cannot be moved, even by a force. Every body has inclination either for *Ḥarakat Mustaqīmah* (lineal motion) or *Ḥarakat Mustadīrah* (circular motion). Heavenly bodies move in a circle.

(5) The fifth property common to all bodies is time There are several theories about time. The author supports the school of *Mashahā'ūn* (peripatetic philosophers, such as Aristotle, etc.) to whom time is a quantity, united and continuous but not resting, and a speed of motion.

There are several theories about *al-ān* (the present time) also. The author holds that just a point at the centre of a line is a parting limit between two halves, though the point itself is not divided; similarly *al-ān* is a point indivisible between the past and the future.

The second section, with many sub-sections, deals with the heavenly bodies and so is also called *al-Falakiyyāt*. This is the second branch of physics, called *al-Samā' wa 'l-'Ālam* (*De coelo et mundo*). *Al-Falak* is that which determines all directions. It represents the uppermost direction above which there is no upward direction. *Al-Falak* is an uncompounded body, that is to say, it is not composed of bodies of various nature like the earthly bodies. It is subject to the circular motion and to the lineal. Its circular motion is eternal—eternal in this sense "as long as this universe exists"—and is intentional and neither physical nor forced.

Al-Falak has two *Nafs* (mental faculties), one is absolutely free from matter and the other depends upon matter, just as man has two faculties; by one he has the

conception of the universal and by the other he conceives the particular.

The third section deals with the atomic or material world (*'Unṣuriyyāt*) which topic comprises the rest of the branches of physics. This section is divided into several sub-sections. The first sub-section deals with *De generatione et corruptione.*

There are four uncompounded states of the elements: Heat, Cold, Wetness, Dryness. Every material body must have two of them. Heat and cold are active, and wetness and dryness, passive. Every element must have only one state from each of these two groups; and thus there are four elements representing the four simple states:

Fire is hot and dry;
Air is hot and wet;
Water is cold and wet;
Earth is cold and dry.

The author holds that the earth is stationary and not moving, as was supposed by a certain class of ancient philosophers and is still believed by European thinkers of to-day. He has given many arguments, one or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) The very nature of the earth requires lineal motion and not circular, and so it will go on moving indefinitely in one way, or, after reaching a certain limit, will have to return. The former case is absurd, on account of the impossibility of infinity of space, while in the latter the earth will have to stop its motion before it changes its direction and the ceasing of the motion cannot be conceived for a body which must move.

(2) The second and other arguments of the author are almost of the same nature. Two illustrations will suffice to show the nature of such arguments. If the earth were moving, then a stone thrown straight upward ought not to

fall down straight on the same place from which it was thrown; but we find that it does. Similarly, a bird flying towards the west ought to fly faster than another one flying in the opposite direction, if the earth were moving from west to east.

Then the author discusses the interchangeableness and inter-solubility of all these four elements. The equilibrium of the four elements is called the *Mizāj* (nature or temperament) of the body.

In the next sub-section he dwells upon the action of elements upon one another, and upon different theories as to which of the three following is active: matter, shape or quantity. This is the topic called *De sensu et sensato.*

Then the author discusses *Kā'ināt al-Jaww* (things existing in the atmospheric world, *i.e.*, meteorological objects), *e.g.*, smoke, vapour, cloud, rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, shooting-stars, rainbow, halo, wind, etc. In these discussions there is nothing that deserves special mention except that he tries in vain to explain the various colours of the rainbow. Some explanations have been given which were not convincing to Ibn Sīnā who refutes them and frankly admits his inability to explain this peculiar phenomenon. How, indeed, could an explanation have been given in an age when the resolution of the white ray of light into various colours had not yet been discovered?

After meteorological discussions, the author takes up mineralogy. Minerals are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which are malleable, *e.g.*, metals, and those which are not malleable, *e.g.*, glass, sulphur, etc. They are still further sub-divided. As to the formation of these minerals he says that they are generally generated by a mixture of mercury and sulphur in different proportions. As to whether silver can be changed into gold, he quotes the opinion of Ibn Sīnā who says that this possibility was

never manifested to him, because the difference in the proportions of the ingredients is unknown. The author, however, does not agree with the final authority on the subject and points out that many sages and thinkers believe in the feasibility of silver being changed into gold.

Next he deals with botany, and describes in detail the various characteristics of vegetables.

Then he turns to zoology. The animal mind has two faculties, stimulating and apprehending; the former being divided into three—nervous stimulus, faculties of appetite and anger; and the latter being classified in two groups—external (*i.e.*, the five senses) and internal, which are also five.

Lastly, the author discusses psychology and deals with the human mind, which has two faculties—*Quwwat 'Āqilah*, also called *Quwwat Naẓariyyah* (the faculty of knowing) and *Quwwat 'Āmilah* (the faculty of action).

The author discusses the different theories regarding *Nafs* (mind) and supports the one held generally by the Muslim philosophers, to whom *Nafs* is an essence, free from matter, neither body nor pertaining to any body, having with the body a connection of control and administration rather than that existing between a whole and its part or between a container and the contained; it is a created thing, surviving the decay of the body, and it conceives the universal as well as the particular. The detailed discussion of this definition of "mind" brings the book to an end.

(B) Commentaries on books on Philosophy proper:

(i) Commentaries on Foreign Books: Three.

As already mentioned, the *Hidāyat al-Ḥikmah* is a well-known book on general philosophy, composed by Shaykh Athīr al-Dīn 'Umar al-Abhari (660/1261). On this text two scholars, one Mullā Ḥusayn b. Mu'īn Maybudhī and

the other Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm, known as Ṣadrā-i-Shīrāzī (828/1424) wrote commentaries. The commentary of the former is known as the *Maybudhī* (میبذی) and that of the latter as the *Ṣadrā* (صدرا). Both these commentaries are held in great respect and are widely used in India. They have been further commented upon. On the *Maybudhī* no less eminent a scholar than 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Siālkot wrote glosses, while the *Ṣadrā* was copiously annotated by Walī Allāh of Lucknow, who was a scholar of a later period, noted for his philosophical writings. He belonged to the Farangī Maḥall of Lucknow, which has produced many scholars. He died in 1270/1853. Both these Indian super-commentaries are helpful in elucidating the philosophical subtleties of the two texts.

The third commentary is that of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī (to whom reference has been made above) on the full *Hidāyat al-Ḥikmah* itself. The author being rather modern, this work falls out of the scope of the present thesis. It may, however, be said that it is widely read by students of philosophy in India, before they read the standard commentaries such as the *Ṣadrā* and the *Maybudhī*.

(ii) *Commentaries on Indian Books: Three.*

One is Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī's commentary, entitled *al-Shams al-Bāzighah* (الشمس البازغة), on his own text-book, *al-Ḥikmat al-Bālighah*, mentioned above. First he introduces his text, saying *Qultu* (*i.e.*, I said) and then after a certain length, it is followed by an explanation, commencing with the word *Aqūlu* (*i.e.*, now I say). On this full work, that is, the text and the commentary, two learned men of a later period, one Ḥamd Allāh (1160/-1747), the well-known commentator on Muḥibb Allāh's *Sullam al-'Ulūm*, and the other Niẓām al-Dīn (1161/1748), a distinguished scholar, who was the ancestor of the

'Ulamā'-i-Farangī Maḥall, wrote illuminating glosses, which are much appreciated in India.

III. Works on Logic: (A) Text-books: Three.

1. *Al-Durrat al-Bahiyyah* (الدرة البهية), a small tract written by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq *Muḥaddith* of Delhi. It deals with the chief problems of logic. It begins with the three kinds of significance:

(1) *Muṭābaqah*, that is to say, literal or of coincidence, *e.g.*, 'man' means a rational animal;

(2) *Taḍammunī*, *i.e.*, partial or of implication, *e.g.*, "man" may mean a mere animal only;

(3) *Iltizāmī*, *i.e.*, associated significance, *e.g.*, "man" may mean one capable of teaching and instruction.

Then the author deals with "definition," which brings in the topic of genus, species, differentia, etc. Then he dwells on proposition and its kinds, categorical and hypothetical, the parts of a proposition, and then on contradiction, conversion, simplex and conversion by contradiction, and, lastly, on syllogism and the four figures. In short, this small tract treats of all the main principles of Logic in a very condensed way.

2. The second text-book in chronological order, but first in order of merit, is the well-known *Sullam al-'Ulūm* (سلم العلوم) of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, whom we have met several times already. This book occupies the highest position in the ranks of Logic in India. Among works on Logic written outside India hardly any book enjoys such a celebrity and reputation as that of two works: one *al-Shamsiyyah* by Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Qazwīni, known as al-Kātibī (613/1216), and the other, the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* by Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzāni (792/1389). Both these works have attracted the attention of a large

number of scholars who have written commentaries and super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses on them, but as the Indian work *Sullam al-'Ulūm* is considered to be suitable for advanced students, these two are generally read and studied prior to the *Sullam*. The author in his brief preface has expressed a desire that it may shine among the text-books just as the sun does among the stars, and I think his desire has been realised. The author commences his book, as usual with Oriental writers, with *Ḥamd wa Ṣalāt* (Divine praise and prayers for the Prophet). The Divine praise has been so skilfully constructed in words technically connected with Arabian logic that it may be quoted here :

سبحان ما عظم شانه لايحد ولا يتصور ولا ينتج ولا يتغير تعالى عن الجنس
والجهات جعل الكليات والجزئيات الايمان به نعم التصديق والاعتصام به حبذا التوفيق

(How holy and great ! He cannot be defined nor conceived nor inferred. He never changes and is above resemblance and directions. He created the universal as well as the particular. To believe in him is the best judgment and to depend upon him is the excellent grace.)

In India logical studies are supposed to be completed with the study of this text-book and the commentaries upon it. The importance of this book may be further judged from the fact that more than a dozen eminent scholars have regarded it as an honour to write commentaries upon it.* Some of these commentators will be mentioned later on when commentaries on text-books on logic will be discussed.

The chief characteristic of the book is that it is very brief, like an ideal text-book after Arabian fashion, and yet no problem has been left out. The author has given all

*(*Vide* the J. B. A. S. of 1913, p. 296, for a list of the commentators on this work.)

the controversial points with their correct solutions. Unless a student already possesses a fair knowledge of logic, he cannot understand it, as it is too difficult and too advanced for a beginner.

The book, unlike other works on logic, is not divided into chapters and sub-chapters. After *Ḥamd wa Ṣalāt* the author starts with an introduction which deals with knowledge and its kinds, *Taṣawwur* (conception) and *Taṣdīq* (judgment) and the *Mawḍūʿ* (subject-matter) of Logic. After the introduction, the book may be regarded as having been divided into two parts, one dealing with *Taṣawwur* and the other with *Taṣdīq*. To the latter he has devoted a much longer space.

It is a great pity that, like all followers of the Arabian system of logic, he deals with Inductive Logic very briefly. He says that induction makes the conclusion probable but not certain. He gives the only example given by nearly all the Muslim logicians, which runs thus: All animals move their lower jaw while chewing food, because men, horses, cows, etc., do that. This conclusion can never be certain, as there may be an exception, for it is said that the crocodile does not do so. He does not agree with Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, an eminent scholar of Persia, to whom reference has been made several times in the preceding pages, when he says that *al-Iḥṣā'* (examination of all the similar cases) is possible. He, while discussing induction, raises a curious objection. In a certain house, there are three occupants, A, B and C, two Muslims and one Hindū. If it is not at first recognised which is which, a conclusion may be drawn from the observation of the larger number. Supposing you happen to see first A and B, you may, because two are more than one, come to the conclusion that these two are Muslims and the absent C will necessarily be the Hindū. On another occasion you may happen to see A and C. Then, according to the same method of argument,

you may think that these two are the Muslims and the remaining B must be the Hindū. And if on a third occasion you see B and C, you will take them to be the Muslims and the absent A to be the Hindū. This means that you have regarded each of them both as a Muslim and as a Hindū. The solution is that in passing judgment on the basis of observation the larger number does not provide certainty. When you do not know for certain which of them is Muslim and which Hindū, each one of them may quite possibly be a Muslim or a Hindū.

3. The third book on Logic written by an Indian is *Mirqāt* (مرقاة) by Faḍl Imām, with whom we have already become acquainted. It is hardly more than a compilation, the material being taken from the *Shamsiyyah* and the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq*. Upon this work the grandson of the author ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq wrote a commentary.

(*B*) *Commentaries on Works of Logic:*

(*i*) *Commentaries on Foreign Logical Works: Six.*

The first book that deserves notice is a commentary entitled *Badīʻ al-Mīzān* (بديع الميزان), composed by ʻAbd Allāh Tulanbī who has already been mentioned as the first scholar to promote the study of philosophy in India, on a treatise entitled *Mīzān al-Manṭiq*. The value of this commentary lies in the fact that it was the first work on philosophy or logic written by an Indian. On this commentary Faḍl Imām Khayrābādī wrote a super-commentary entitled *Tashhīdh al-Adhhān* (تشحيذ الاذهان).

I have already introduced two well-known text-books written outside India, one being *al-Shamsiyyah* by Al-Kātibī (693/1293) and the other *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* by Taftāzānī (792/1389). The first was commented upon by Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmud b. Muḥammad (766/1364) and was further commented upon by Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī

(818/1415). The first commentary is known as the *Quṭbī* and the super-commentary as the *Mīr Quṭbī*. Quṭb al-Dīn composed a text-book also, known as *al-Risālah fī al-Taṣawwur wa 'l-Taṣdīq*. The *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* was commented upon by two scholars, one 'Abd Allāh Yazdī and the other Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī.

Having described these three foreign books, I now turn to the Indian commentaries and super-commentaries upon them.

On the *Mīr Quṭbī* 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Sialkot wrote further glosses which are full of learned discussions on controversial points of logic.

On Yazdī's commentary on the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq*, 'Abd al-Nabī of Aḥmadābād (1144/1731) wrote glosses and marginal notes; and upon Dawwānī's commentary on the same text-book (*i.e.*, *Tahdhīb*), *Mīr Zāhid*, who has already been noticed, added glosses which are known as *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Zāhidiyyat al-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية). The merits of these glosses have been full recognised by Indian scholars of Arabic, inasmuch as a large number of the learned men of the succeeding generations have written super-glosses and super-super-glosses on these glosses of Mīr Zāhid.

Also on the aforesaid *Risālat al-Taṣawwur wa 'l-Taṣdīq* by Quṭb al-Dīn, the same Mīr Zāhid wrote glosses known as *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Zāhidiyyat al-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية). These glosses have also attracted much attention among the students of logic in India and consequently many additions have been made to these glosses in the form of marginal and super-marginal notes upon them. These two sets of Zāhid's glosses are in themselves separate text-books, and hence they too require glosses to explain them. They are full of logical subtleties and complicated discussions and are meant for advanced and serious students of logic. Out of many super-glosses on *al-Ḥāshiyat al-Quṭbiyyah* those of Ghulām Yaḥyā Bihārī who died in 1128/1715, deserve mention.

These super-glosses have been in their turn, commented upon by the scholars of the succeeding generations.

(ii) Commentaries on Indian Text-Books on Logic: Four.

Besides the *Sharḥ Mirqāt*, previously referred to, various commentaries by various scholars on the *Sullam al-'Ulūm* deserve mention. As already said, more than a dozen scholars wrote commentaries on this book, the following being the most widely used :—

1. The commentary known as the *Ḥamd Allāh* (حمدالله), after its author, Ḥamd Allāh of Sandilah (1160/1747).
2. The commentary known as the *Qāḍī Mubārak*, (قاضي مبارک), after its author, Qāḍi Mubārak of Gopāma'ū (1162/1748).

N.B.—The first commentary is noted for the portion relating to *Taṣdīq* (Judgment), while the second is valued for the section of *Taṣawwur* (Conception).

3. The commentary known as the *Mullā Ḥasan* (ملا حسن), after its author, Mullā Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (1198/1783).
4. The commentary entitled the *Mir'āt al-Shurūḥ* (مرآةالشروح), composed by Mullā Muḥammad Mubīn (1225/1810).

All these commentaries, especially those of Ḥamd Allāh and Qāḍi Mubārak, are highly esteemed in India and some scholars have further written glosses on these commentaries.

CHAPTER VIII

Literature on Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicines

Since India has not contributed much to the mathematical, astrological and medical branches of Arabic literature, I propose to deal with them briefly in one place, here.

The contribution of India to the above-mentioned departments of Arabic literature during the Pre-Ghaznawid period has already been referred to, so that here only the literature of later periods will require consideration.

1. Contribution to Mathematical Literature.

Mathematics is one of those sciences which received less and less attention from Muslim scholars after the golden days of their intellectual activity and scientific researches had passed away. To say nothing of original work, they could not even write commentaries, as they did in the case of other branches of learning. When Arabic-speaking countries and those countries lying close to them did not contribute much to the mathematical branches of Arabic literature, it is not to be expected that India, the Arabic product of which is of a much later date than that of the other countries, would produce any Arabic work of importance or originality on mathematics. But just as Persia might reasonably be proud of producing in later periods a few mathematicians of high repute, such as Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-'Āmulī (1031/1621), etc., similarly India may be given the credit of being the home of a few equally good mathematicians, such

as 'Iṣmat Allāh b. 'Aẓmat Allāh Sahāranpūrī (after 1090/1679), Luṭf Allāh al-Mutakhlaliṣ bi 'l-Muhandis b. Ustād Aḥmad al-Mi'mār and his son Imām al-Dīn.

Bahā' al-Dīn's *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* is an important work on arithmetic. Its importance may be judged from the fact that several authors have written commentaries and super-commentaries upon it in Arabic as well as in Persian, and that Professor Nesselmann has edited and Aristide Marre has translated it into French. The first author who wrote a copious commentary on it is one of the Indian mathematicians just mentioned. 'Iṣmat Allāh was an eminent mathematician of his age. His commentary entitled *Anwār Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* (انوار خلاصة الحساب) on the above-mentioned *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* is a learned work in which the author has creditably displayed his mathematical talents. The original author and the commentator belong almost to the same period and died at an interval of about sixty years only.

The commentator commences his commentary with a brief introduction in which he emphasises the importance of arithmetic, and then records his appreciation of the *Khulāṣah*.

While commenting upon the definition of arithmetic in the text, he discusses at length the meaning of *Riyāḍī* (mathematics) and the reason why it is so named. He states that *Riyāḍī* has been so called because of the training it gives to the mind. "The ancient philosophers," says he, "used to give preference to it over the rest of the sciences including even logic." Then he discusses whether number, with or without a relation to objects, is the subject-matter of arithmetic. He quotes Abū 'Alī Sīnā's authority as saying that an arithmetician deals with abstract number without reference to any subject. The commentator criticises this statement and asserts that absolute number does not form the subject-matter of this science.

The original author's definition of number as being a quantity that can be applied to a unit and to a combination of units, is incomplete in the opinion of the commentator, as he thinks that this definition does not include fractions. He, therefore, suggests that the correct definition of number will be: "A quantity applicable to one and to a fraction or multiplication of one."

It is curious to see that though numerals are so closely associated with arithmetic, yet they have been very sparingly used throughout the text as well as in the commentary.

The commentator, while commenting upon the anecdotes given by the original author, has in places added some more short stories. For instance, the text narrates that 'Alī, the fourth rightly directed Caliph, being once asked the lowest common measure of numbers from one to nine, said, "Multiply the days of the year by the days of the week," that is to say, 360 multiplied by 7 is equal to 2520. Commenting on this story, the commentator gives three more stories, all relating to 'Alī, to show how well-versed he was in arithmetic. One of these may not be out of place here. Once upon a time 'Alī, when he was just putting his foot in the stirrup of his saddle, was approached by a woman who complained that a great wrong had been done to her, as she had been given only one out of six hundred dīnārs left by her brother. 'Alī at once remarked that perhaps her brother had left behind him besides herself a wife, parents, two daughters and twelve brothers. "Yes," said she, whereupon 'Alī rejoined that in that case she had received her due.

These stories, if true, really go to show the extraordinary arithmetical talent of 'Alī. But it may be suspected that actually these calculations might have been worked out by some expert and in order to prove the arithmetical skill of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, they have been, by way of "pious falsehood," ascribed to him.

This commentary is very illuminating and useful and establishes the mathematical talents of the author. All the difficult passages and complicated problems in the text are fully explained.

On the *Khulāṣah*, Luṭf Allāh, poetically named al-Muhandis, b. Ustād Aḥmad, the architect, also wrote a brief commentary to which his son Imām al-Dīn added glosses. This Luṭf Allāh translated the text into Persian also. All these works were consulted by Rawshan 'Alī when he again translated the text into Persian, with explanatory notes, as late as 1812, A.D.*

It may not be out of place to mention that Luṭf Allāh, his father Ustād Aḥmad the architect, his brother 'Aṭā' Allāh, and his son Imām al-Dīn, were all of them scholars noted for their high mathematical attainments. 'Aṭā' Allāh composed a treatise in verse on Arithmetic, Mensuration and Algebra. Luṭf Allāh, besides his above-mentioned Arabic commentary on, and Persian translation of, the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb*, wrote other books on mathematics, but in Persian, not in Arabic.

II. Contribution to Astronomical Literature.

On Astronomy, two Arabic text-books are widely known: one is *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-Hay'at al-Basīṭah* (الملخص فى الهيئة البسيطه) by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Jaghmīnī al-Khwārizmī, which work is generally known as *Jaghmīnī*; and the other is *Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk* (تشريح الافلاک) by Bahā' al-Dīn, the author of the *Khulāṣat al-Ḥisāb* On the *Jaghmīnī*, Mūsā b. Maḥmūd Qāḍī-Zādah composed a commentary which is generally known as the *Sharḥ-i-Jaghmīnī*.

*Dr. Nesselmann who edited the text, says in his introduction that he was unable to trace any of the commentaries consulted by Rawshan 'Alī. But at that time the catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office Library had not been published.

One Indian mathematician, Imām al-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh, to whom a reference has been made above, wrote a super-commentary on the *Sharḥ-i-Jaghmīnī* and a commentary, entitled *al-Taṣrīḥ* (التصريح) on the *Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk* of Bahā' al-Dīn. In the latter the commentator has embodied some materials from Indian astronomy also, which are quite new to Arabian astronomy. One such addition is what is known in astronomy as *al-Dā'irat al-Hindiyyah* (The Indian circle) which is used for the determination of the midday, etc. Both these commentaries occupy a high place in the curriculum of astronomical studies in India.

Perhaps the greatest and most important contribution of India to the mathematical or astronomical branch of Arabic literature during the post-Ghaznawid period is the *Kitāb al-Maqā'īs* (كتاب المقاييس), an Arabic translation made by Mu'tamad Khān Rustam b. Diyānat Khān Qubād Ḥārithī from a work of Clavius on Gnomonics (published at Rome in 1581). The Indian Office Library contains a manuscript of it, which is, as stated by the son of the translator, the rough copy (but neatly and clearly written) of Mu'tamad Khān. It is a voluminous work in 427 folios, with thirty-three lines on a page. The British Museum has only a small fragment of it. (Cat. Bri.' Mus. 443.) No other MS. of the work can be traced as existing in any Indian library, or outside India elsewhere, as far as the available catalogues can be relied upon.

Mu'tamad Khān Rustam, who flourished in the reign of Awrangzīb in a position of some importance, was a great friend of learning and of books. Several manuscripts copied for him are to be found in the British Museum, on the title of each of which it is written in his own hand that it was copied for him and for his son, and that in places he corrected them. The names of two such MSS. are *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* (Add. 16648) and *al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah* (Add.

16647). On the margin of the title-page of the MS. there is this note written by Mr. Johnson that the translator went to Portugal where he translated the work. This work deserves close study by those who are interested in this branch of learning.

III. Contribution to Literature on Medicine.

The contribution of India to Arabic literature on medicine falls under two heads: one, commentaries and super-commentaries, and the other, text-books (*i.e.*, original compositions). Under the first heading there are seven works that arrest our attention:

1. One of the most important Arabic works on the science of medicine is *al-Qānūn* by Abū 'Alī Sīnā. On this medical encyclopædia several scholars have written commentaries, of whom three are Indian. One is Ḥakīm 'Alī Jilānī (1017/1608) who was a physician attached to the court of Akbar. He was a learned scholar, excelled his contemporaries in mathematics and medicine, and was admired for his wonderful cures. Recognising his excellent talents, Akbar conferred upon him the rank of 700 and the title of Jālīnūs-i-Zamān (Galen of the time). In the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign he constructed the famous reservoir through which lay the passage to a small room, the door of which was always open but water did not enter the room. When completed, the Emperor went to see it. He himself plunged into the water and entered the room, which he found well furnished. He remained in the room for some time, to the anxiety of his attendants outside the reservoir, who were greatly relieved when he came out again safely. In 1017/1608 Jahāngīr also visited the reservoir and saw the room, whereupon he promoted the skilful constructor to the rank of 2000.* If the description of the

* Ma'āthir al-Umarā' (مآثر الامرا) I, 568.

reservoir given by Jahāngīr himself in his *Tuzuk* and by 'Abd al-Razzāq in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* is correct, one has to admit that the constructor was really a genius. His commentary on *al-Qānūn* is the largest of its kind and in point of authority comes next to that of al-Qarshī.

2. The next commentary on the *Qānūn* is entitled *Ghāyāt al-Fuhūm fi Tadbīr al-Maḥmūm* (غايات الفهوم فی تدبیر المحموم) by Isḥāq Khān b. Ismā'īl Khān of Delhi, an Indian physician of the 12th century of the *Hijra*. This commentary is confined to that portion of the *Qānūn* which treats of fevers (*i.e.*, Fann I of Book IV). The Bānkīpūr Catalogue IV, p. 59, contains the following account:—

" In the preface the author states that in this he proposes to discuss the prognosis and critical days of fevers, along with their treatment. To accomplish this purpose, he consulted al-Qarshī's commentary on the *Qānūn*, which, though it contains useful comments, is yet full of futile attacks on Abū Sīnā. He, therefore, referred to al-Jīlānī's commentary which, according to him, contains successful refutations of al-Qarshī's hostile criticisms, but the practical portion is commented upon at such length that it becomes too voluminous to be of general utility. This work, he says, is an abridgment of al-Jīlānī's long comments, to serve as an introduction to that encyclopædia."

3. The third Indian commentary on the *Qānūn* is *Sharḥ Kulliyyāt al-Qānūn* by Ḥakīm Shifā'ī Khān b. Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Shāfī Khān Masīḥ al-Mulk, an Indian physician who flourished in the reign of Āṣaf al-Dawlah of Oudh (1188-1212) and after the death of that monarch served Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān (1212-1229).

4 and 5. Besides the *Qānūn*, two other medical books, one Burhān al-Dīn Nafīs 'Iwaḍ al-Kirmānī's commentary, known as *al-Nafīsī*, on 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abu 'l-Ḥazm al-Qarshī's (d. 678/1279) abridgment, entitled *al-Mūjaz*, of the *Qānūn*, and the other the same commentator's commentary

on Najib al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Samarqandī's well-known work entitled *al-Asbāb wa 'l-'Alāmāt*, have attracted the attention of several Indian scholars and physicians who have written marginal glosses upon them. The former, *i.e.*, *al-Nafīsī*, has been further commented upon by Ḥakīm A'ājib b. Mu'ālij Khān, an Indian physician of the twelfth century of the *Hijra*, and by Ḥakīm Sharīf Khān of Delhi, a physician of Persian extraction, who settled in India and vied with the 'Alawī Khān, the celebrated physician of Muḥammad Shāh, in reputation as a successful medical practitioner and Arabic scholar.

6 and 7. Of the glosses on the *Sharḥ al-Asbāb wa 'l-'Alāmāt*, two deserve mention: one is *Kashf al-Ishkālāt* (كشف الاشكالات) by Muḥammad Hāshim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Aḥsan b. Muḥammad Afḍal, (who received his education in mathematics and medicine from Ḥakīm 'Alī al-Jīlānī and was appointed by Shāh-jahān as a teacher to Awrangzib) and the other is *al-Fawā'id al-Sharīfiyyah* (الفوائد الشريفية) by Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

Under the second heading there are four books worthy of notice:

1. *Al-Juz' al-'Amalī Min Akmal al-Ṣanā'ah* (الجزء العملي من اكمل الصناعة) by Ḥakīm Kāẓim, son of the Shī'ah *Mujtahid* named Ḥaydar 'Alī al-Najafī, an Indian physician (1149/1736) who was given the title of Ḥādhiq al-Mulk. This work is divided into an introduction (on evil or fatal symptoms), seven *Maqālahs* (on symptoms and treatments of local and general diseases) and a *Khātimah* (on weights and measures used in medicine). This work is noticed in the *Kashf al-Ḥujab wa 'l-Asfār* under the title of *Jāmi' al-Ṣanā'i'* which seems to be incorrect.*

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* *Vide* Bānkīpūr Catalogue, IV, No. 84.

2. *Asrār al-'Ilāj* (اسرار العلاج) by Ḥakīm 'Alī Sharīf of Lucknow, who received the title of *Ra'īs al-Aṭibbā'* from Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Lucknow. The value of this work may be judged from the following remark of a learned physician who compiled the Bānkīpūr Catalogue Vol. IV.*

" The author throughout this treatise shows rare powers of criticism and original investigation such as are not generally to be met with in other eastern writers. This work strikingly depicts the methods of case-taking (*i.e.*, diagnosis), the mode of reasoning and the way of investigation peculiar to the Indian physicians of the 12th and 13th centuries A. H."

3. *Ḥilyat al-Wāṣifīn wa Wishāḥ al-Ṭālibīn* (حلية الواصفين و وشاح الطالبين) by Muḥammad Mahdi b. 'Alī Aṣghar b. Nūr Muḥammad Khān, Prime Minister of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar, king of Oudh, and pupil of 'Alī Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

4. The *Qarābādīn-i-'Alawī Khān* (قرابادين علوي خان) by Mu'tamad al-Mulūk Ḥakīm Muḥammad Hāshim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Hādī, known as 'Alawī Khān, the celebrated physician of the Mughal courts from the reign of Awrangzīb down to Muḥammad Shāh's time, when he was taken by Nādir Shāh to his capital but allowed soon to return to Delhi, where he died in 1749. The compiler of the Bānkīpūr Catalogue IV remarks that this work reveals critical observation, originality and insight on the part of the author, and is a monumental representation of the mode of criticism, observation and adaptation practised by the Indian physicians.†

At the conclusion of this brief description of some of the Indian Arabic medical works, it may be added that Indian scholars of Arabic medicine were not simply

*Bānkīpūr Catalogue, IV, No. 65.

†*Ibid.* IV, No. 107.

commentators and glossary writers. They have made new researches also, and have recorded the results in works such as the Qarābādīn of 'Alawī Khān, etc., of which the compiler of the Bānkīpūr catalogue, well-versed in Arabian medicine, speaks in high terms. Professor Denison Ross is right in remarking that "they (Indian physicians) have done so much for the adaptation of the ancient system of medicine to their own surroundings and requirements." *

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*Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. IV, Preface.

CHAPTER IX

Historical Literature

Arabic historical literature is so extensive and important that the producers of it may reasonably be proud. It is a production of several countries and not of Arabia alone. But we are here concerned with India only, and propose to examine under the present heading what she has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

As most works on history by Indian scholars are in Persian, those written in Arabic are very few and exceptional, whereas in Persian, Elliot has been able to give the titles of more than two hundred historical works written in this language, excluding biographies of poets, scholars and saints. Owing to the predominance of Arabic in the early centuries of Islam, religious, philosophical and scientific works were generally written in Arabic, even in Persia, Turkistān and Afghānistān; but it never achieved any success in those countries against Persian in the departments of poetry, light literature and history. Still less was the case in India.

Under the present heading there are fourteen works which may deserve mention. They may be arranged under the following heads:—

I.	Pure History ...	...	4 works
II.	Chronology ...	...	1 „
III.	Lives of the Prophet	...	3 „
IV.	Other Biographies	...	5 „
V.	Travel ...	...	1 „
		TOTAL	14 works.

I. Pure History : Four Works.

1. *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين), by Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ma'barī, whom we have met already in connection with his book, *Qurrat al-'Ayn*, on *Fiqh*. This book is a historical account of the doings and proceedings of the Portuguese in Mālābār from the time of their first appearance in that country in the year 904/1498, up to the year 989/1581. The whole book is divided into four sections.

The first section deals with the Islamic injunctions regarding the holy war. The second dwells upon the first appearance and dissemination of Islām in Mālābār. The third is confined to a short account of the singular usages and customs of the infidels of the country, and the last section, forming the main part of the book to which the first three sections may be taken as an introduction, is further divided into fourteen sub-sections, called *Faṣls*.

The value of this work may be judged from the fact that it was translated into English by Lieutenant Rowlandson as early as the year 1833, that is to say, a little less than a century back, and afterwards edited and rendered into Portuguese by David Lopes in 1898. As to the accuracy of this historical narration, it is sufficient to quote Lieutenant Rowlandson's remark upon it. He says:—" It is creditable to the author that the testimony of the western authors establishes the fidelity of his narrative, since besides a very minute and extraordinary agreement on many minor points of detail, in the relation of leading events, it is seldom found much at variance with their accounts." Moreover, the author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* has exercised his power of criticism and judgment in accepting traditions. For instance, while giving an account of the first appearance of Islām in the country of Mālābār, he has rejected the tradition current

among his Muslim countrymen, according to which the king of Mālābār, having been impressed by the miracle of the splitting of the moon, went to the Prophet himself and embraced Islām.

In addition to Zayn al-Dīn's narration of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese, there is another account of the same by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kālikūtī, who composed five hundred and three couplets on the subject, under the title of *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn Li 'l-Sāmirī Alladhī Yuḥibb al-Muslimīn* (الفتح المبين للسامري الذي يحب المسلمين) (*i.e.*, the conspicuous victory of Zamorin who loves the Muslims). This work will be further considered under the heading " Contribution of India to the Poetical Branch of Arabic Literature." Here it may be added that a comparison of these two works encourages belief in their trustworthiness.

2. *Al-I'lām bi A'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* (الاعلام باعلام بيت الله الحرام) by Quṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nahrwālī. The father of the author left his native place for the Ḥijāz and settled at Makkah, where Quṭb al-Dīn was born in 917/1511. After completing his education at Makkah, he went to Egypt in 943/1536 where he pursued his studies further with the eminent scholars of that place. He soon attracted notice as a learned scholar. Later on, he was employed as a professor of theology at a college in Makkah, and was finally appointed a *muftī* there. He died in 990/1582. The present work is a comprehensive history of Makkah. It consists of an introduction, ten chapters, and an appendix. In the introduction the author enumerates his sources. He says that the oldest historian of Makkah is Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Arzaqī. The following list of the contents will show the value of the book:—

Chapter I. A Geographical account of Makkah and the *Ka'bah*

Chapter II. An account of the foundation and construction of the *Ka'bah.*

„ III. A description of *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* during the period of Ignorance and the early days of Islām.

„ IV. An account of what was added to the *Masjid* by the 'Abbāsids.

„ V. A special mention of the two additions made after the alteration initiated by Manṣūr and completed by his son Hādī, during the later period of the 'Abbāsids.

„ VI. An account of the repairs done by the Jrākisah.

„ VII. An account of the *Masjid* during the 'Uthmānid period.

„ VIII. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Salīm I.

„ IX. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Salīm II.

„ X. An account of the *Masjid* during the reign of Sulṭān Murād.

Appendix An account of the sacred places of interest at Makkah.

In order to do full justice to the history of the *Ka'bah*, the author has given in outline the whole history of the Muslims from the time of the Prophet right down to his own days.

The importance of this work has been duly recognised by Western scholars, having been edited with earlier works of the same nature, by Wüestenfeld. But as the author, although of Indian blood, was born, bred and educated outside India, it is doubtful whether his work can claim to be placed with the contributions of India to Arabic literature. In reply, it may be urged that it is within the scope of the present thesis to include the works of those scholars

of Indian blood also who were born and flourished outside India.

3. *Al-Barq al-Yamānī fi 'l-Fatḥ al-'Uthmānī* (البرق اليماني في الفتح العثماني), by the same author. This is a historical account of the events that took place in Yaman during the time of the author (*i.e.*, from the beginning of the tenth century to 978 A.H.) It consists of three *Bābs* and a *Khātimah* (conclusion.) The first *Bāb*, divided into 13 *Faṣls* deals with the history of the kings of Yaman from the beginning of the tenth century of the *Hijra* up to the time when she was conquered by the *'Uthmānī* Turks. The second *Bāb* (in 37 *Faṣls*) contains the history of the country from the time of its annexation by the 'Uthmānī Turks up to the reign of Sulaymān; the third (in 60 *Faṣls*) dwells on the history of the events that took place in Yaman during the reign of Sulṭān Salīm; and the *Khātimah* (in 5 *Faṣls*) contains the account of the return of Sinān Pāshā to Egypt and of his conquest of Tūnis and Goletta.

4. A History of Gujarāt, entitled *Ẓafar al-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih* (ظفر الوالہ بمظفر و آلہ), composed in the first decades of the 17th century by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Nahrwālī al-Āṣafī Ulugh Khāni, better known as Ḥājjī Dabīr, who flourished in the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the *Hijra*. The author was born in Makkah about 946/1540. He first went to India when a boy of sixteen years in 962/1555 and three years later entered the service of his first master Muḥammad Ulugh Khan, the Abyssinian, who was a prominent noble and general in Gujarāt serving 'Imād al-Mulk. In 980/1572, when Akbar entered Aḥmadābād, Ulugh Khan became a prisoner and our author was left without employment. In the following year he was appointed to carry the *Waqf* money from Gujarāt to Makkah and Madīnah. In 983/1575 he was back in India and now in the service of

another Gujarāt noble named Sayf al-Mulk, and later on in that of Fawlād Khān, a leading noble of Khāndesh. The exact date of his death is not known, but he is known to have been living in 1020/1611.

This work is divided into two parts, called *Daftars*. The first *Daftar* deals with the history of the Muzaffarid kings of Gujarāt, who ruled from 799 to 980 A.H. (1396-1572 A.D.), and also of the rulers of Khāndesh and the Deccan; and the second *Daftar* contains the general history of all the various dynasties that ruled over Northern India from the 12th century to the sixteenth century A.D. It has been edited by the eminent orientalist, Professor Denison Ross, who was the first to realise the value of the work. This edition consists of three volumes, each with a scholarly introduction. "It will be seen," remarks the learned editor, "that this work is much more than a mere chronicle of the kings and that a larger portion of the (first) volume is devoted to digressions, historical, biographical and bibliographical, which carry the reader back to the early history of Islām on the one hand and forward to the beginning of the 17th century on the other." In another place Sir Denison Ross makes the following observation :—

"Although he was of Indo-Persian origin, his ancestors having fled from Persia to India at the time of the Tārtār invasion in the 13th century, his native language was Arabic and he tells us that he only learnt Persian some time after his arrival in India. These circumstances have a double bearing on the value of this work: first in respect of the style of the Arabic which, though often careless, is evidently the language of a man born and bred in Mecca; and secondly in respect of Indian and Persian proper names, which our author as a foreigner takes great care to spell correctly and in many cases to explain."

II. Chronology: One Work.

There is one book that deserves notice under the present heading. It is *al-Nūr al-Sāfir ʻan Akhbār al-Qarn al-ʻĀshir* (النور السافر عن اخبار القرن العاشر), written by Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Qādir al-ʻAydarūs of Aḥmadābād. He was a member of the noble family of ʻAydarūs of Yaman. His father went to India in 958/1551 and settled in Aḥmadābād, where our author was born in 978/1570, his mother being an Indian slave-girl, presented to his father by some of his disciples. He received his education from eminent scholars both of Yaman and India. He was a distinguished Ṣūfī, an eminent scholar, and a prolific writer. He has left about a score of works. This work is, as indicated by its very title, a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the *Hijra*. Similar works of early writers, *e.g., al-Durrat al-Kāminah fi 'l-Qarn al-Thāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar and *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi fi 'l-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* by al-Sakhāwī, are well known. The present work is a continuation of the same scheme, with a slight difference in the plan and scope. Both the early works just mentioned are confined to short biographical notes on secular and religious worthies who died in the eighth and ninth centuries respectively, these names being arranged in alphabetical and not in chronological order, while the work under consideration deals chronologically not only with the biographical accounts of men of rank and letters but with political and social events as well. In short, this work is a valuable member of that very useful biographical series of which *al-Durr al-Kāminah* and *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ* form the earlier volumes, while later works such as *Khulāṣat al-Āthār*, *Silk al-Durar* and *ʻAjā'ib al-Āthār* are succeeding links. It may also be mentioned here that besides *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* several works of the same type relating more or less to the same period have been written by different authors, of which works

al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi Manāqib 'Ulamā' al-Mi'at al-'Āshirah (الكواكب السائرة بمناقب علماء المأة العاشرة) is worthy of notice.

As this work has not yet been published, a rather full account of the book may not be out of place here.

The author tells us in his preface that he has mentioned in this work the dates of all those scholars, saints, Qāḍis, kings and grandees, whether of Egypt, Syria, Ḥijāz, Yaman, Rūm or India, and has added accounts of some events and curious stories and witticisms. He admits that he could not mention all the events that took place in this century, owing to his ignorance of them. Being conscious of the fact that he has omitted much more than he has recorded, he says, by way of apology for the composition of such an incomplete work, that what cannot be fully mentioned should not be left altogether untouched.

To the main chronology he has, by way of invoking divine blessings, prefixed a short biographical account of the Prophet. Then he starts his chronology from the year 901/1495 and concludes it in the year 1000/1591. He has given biographical notes on a large number of scholars of whom the following may be mentioned here:—

1. Al-Sakhāwī, author of the well-known but very rare work, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, who died in 902/1496.
2. The celebrated Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyuṭī who died in 911/1506.
3. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh, great-grandfather of the author (died in 919/1513).
4. Ibn Suwaydā', an eminent *Muḥaddith* of his age, who was attached to the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt, who conferred upon him the title of *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn* (king of traditionists). He died in 919/1513.

5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qasṭalānī, author of the famous encyclopædic biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*, who died in 923/1517. In the note on this scholar, the author relates that Suyūṭī and Qasṭalānī were not on good terms with each other, as the former had this grievance against the latter that Qasṭalānī used to quote from his work without giving any reference to his name. When Suyūṭī was on his deathbed, Qasṭalānī went to him and knocked at his door, whereupon he asked who the intruder might be. Qasṭalānī told who he was, and added that he had gone to see him bare-footed and bare-headed in order to be reconciled to him. The dying scholar answered that he had been reconciled, but did not open the door.
6. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī, an eminent scholar of his age whom the author mistakenly states to have died in 928/1521, whereas he had passed away twenty years earlier.
7. Muzajjad, author of the well-known book on the Shafi'ī *Fiqh*, entitled *al-'Ubāb*.
8. Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī, a learned man and poet who went to India and joined the court of Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt for whom he wrote a biography of the Prophet under the title of *Tabṣīrat al-Ḥaḍrat al-Skāhiyyat al-Aḥmadiyyah bi Sīrat al-Ḥaḍrat al-Nabawiyyat al-Aḥmadiyyah* (تبصير الحضرة الشاهية الاحمديه بسيرة الحضرة النبوية الاحمديه).
9. Ibn al-Ḥajar al-Haythamī, author of the *Sharḥ al-Mishkāt*, etc., who died in 974-1566.
10. 'Alī Muttaqī, an Indian scholar of name and fame whom we have known already. He died in 975/1567.

11. Under the year 978/1570, in which the author was born, he gives a detailed account of his birth, education and works. He frankly admits that his mother was an Indian slave-girl who bore no other child save himself.
12. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, already known to us, who rightly held the title of "the king of the Indian traditionists." He died in 986/1578.
13. 'Abd al-Nabī, an eminent scholar of the court of Akbar, who was afterwards condemned by the Emperor. He died in 990/1582.
14. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, noticed already. He was a good poet also. Five long poems of his are given in this book.
15. Ḥakīm Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shams al-Dīn Sindī who was attached to the royal court of Gujarāt. The author relates here a curious story. A certain king sent Sulṭān Maḥmūd some valuable presents, one of which was a beautiful girl, whom Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed on one of his ministers. Before the minister touched the girl, the physician happened to feel her pulse. He at once announced that the girl had been fed and bred in such a piosonous way that whosoever had intercourse with her was sure to die. Presently an experiment was made, and, to the bewilderment of those who were present there, the statement was proved correct. Being asked the reason for this phenomenon, the physician explained that her mother, whilst pregnant, had been fed on poisonous herbs.

So much for the more important of those learned and literary persons whom our author has mentioned in his chronology. As for the kings and worldly dignitaries

noticed in the same, the following names are worthy of note :—

1. Qā'it-Bey, Sultān of Egypt, who died in 901/1495.
2. Maḥmūd b. Maḥammad, king of Gujarāt who died in 916/1510.
3. Muẓaffar Shāh II king of Gujarāt (d. 932/1526)
4. Bahādur Shāh „ „ (d. 943/1536)
5. Maḥmūd Shāh II „ „ (d. 961/1553)
6. Aḥmad Shāh II „ „ (d. 967/1559)
7. Khudāwand Khān (d. 968/1560)
8. Quṭb Shāh Sulṭān of Golkandah (d. 990/1582)

As to the political events mentioned in the book, the following items may be given here :—

1. Humāyūn's attack upon Gujarāt and how Bahādur Shāh was defeated through the treachery of Muṣṭafā Bahrām.
2. Āṣaf Khān's return from Makkah and his filling the post of Wizārat until he and his master were both killed in 961/1553.
3. The capture of Diu by the Portuguese in 961/1553.
4. Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt in 980/1572. About Akbar the author says that he was a just king but at the same time inclined towards the heretics; he then remarks *Wa fi 'l-Ishārah mā Yughnī 'Ani 'l-Kalām*, that is, "a hint is enough and no more need be said."
5. An account of Aḥmadābād and of its founder.
6. Muẓaffar b. Maḥmūd's recapture of Aḥmadābād, Barwaj and Barodah, after he had defeated the Mughal army in 991/1583 and his loss of them in the following year.

Besides the biographical notices and the brief accounts of certain political events, we find interesting

digressions as well, of which the following are worthy of mention:—

1. Geographical and historical accounts of Ḥaḍramawt, Aḥqāf, Sabā, *Iram Dhāt al-Imād*, the grave of Ṣāliḥ the prophet, the grave of Hūd, etc.
2. A discussion on the possibility of miracles.
3. An account of the occurrences of earthquake and fire at Aden in 914/1508.
4. A discourse on Coffee.

As the author, being himself a poet, took much interest in poetry, we find that his book contains many beautiful extracts from the poetry of those scholars and poets whom he has mentioned. Moreover, being in constant touch with Southern Arabia, he has much to say about the political affairs of Aden, Ḥaḍramawt and Yaman.

As regards the accuracy of the dates, it may be said that it is difficult to question it except in one place, where he is obviously wrong. He mentions Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī as having died in 928, while the correct date of his death is 908. In two or three places I have noticed that dates given by him slightly differ from those given by Lane-Poole in his Muḥammadan Dynasties. For instance, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, king of Gujarāt, died in 916 according to our author, while Lane-Poole puts this even one year later. The year of Aḥmad Shāh's death, according to the *Nūr al-Sāfir*, is 967, while according to Lane-Poole it is 969.*

It may be noted that a scholar named Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī (d. 1093/1682) wrote a

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* Firishtah and E. de Zambaur give the same dates as Lane-Poole. But according to Hājjī Dabīr, Ahmad Shāh was killed in 967 as stated in *Al-Nur al-Sāfir* and not in 969. (*Vide Zāfar al-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Alih, Vol. II, 478*).

supplement to this work under the title of *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir bi Takmīl al-Nūr al-Ṣāfir.* Al-Shillī does not question the accuracy of the *Nūr al-Ṣāfir,* and regards it as a useful and valuable work. The necessity for writing a supplement, as he himself says, arose from the fact that the author of the original book omitted many noteworthy persons.

As regards the style and Arabic of the book, one may safely say that it is lucid, simple and straightforward. The work was completed on Friday the 12th of Rabī' al-Thānī, 1012/1603.

This brief account may be concluded with this remark that the *Nūr al-Ṣāfir* is a useful chronological work and deserves to be edited on western scientific lines. The *Durrat al-Kāminah,* the first link in this biographical series, is being edited by Mr. Krenkow. The MSS. of the *Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* are very rare and defective. Then comes this work with its supplement *al-Sanā' al-Bāhir*; and the succeeding links have already been published.

III. *Biographies of the Prophet: Two Works.*

1. *Itḥāf al-Ḥaḍrat al-'Azīzah li 'Uyūn al-Sīrat al-Wajīzah* (اتحاف الحضرة العزيزة لعيون السيرة الوجيزة) by Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, the author of the *Nūr al-Ṣāfir.* It is a short biography of the Prophet and his companions. There is nothing special about this work, except that the narration is lucid, concise, and almost free from unhistorical statements such as are generally found in works written by Ṣūfīs and mystic writers. It consists of two parts and an appendix. The first part deals with the biography of the Prophet in four chapters. The second part, divided into ten chapters, contains the short biographies of those ten companions of the Prophet who were assured by him that they would enter Paradise. The *Khātimah* (concluding

portion) deals with the merits and excellences of the companions of the Prophet.

2. The other Arabic biography of the Prophet written in India, worthy of notice, is *al-Sīrat al-Muḥammadiyyah* (السيرة المحمدية), composed by Karāmat 'Alī b. Fāḍil Muḥammad Ḥayāt 'Alī. It is a voluminous work containing six hundred closely lithographed pages of 15 inch size, with 35 lines in each page, and was composed shortly before the Mutiny. It was written under the royal patronage of the Nizām of Ḥaydarābād, to whom it was dedicated. It is not a mere compilation. The author has taken pains in examining and weighing all the traditions and events recorded. It cannot be called a critical work, according to the modern standard of investigation, but at the same time it does not contain those *Ḥadīth* which are considered to be false by Muslim scholars themselves. He exercised his own critical judgment in dealing with controversial points. The concluding part of the work contains a short history of the rightly directed Caliphs.

On the biography of the Prophet a large number of books have been written, among which the voluminous work entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah* by Al-Qasṭalānī (923/1517) is perhaps the most important from the Muslim standpoint, but the biography under consideration supersedes it as far as accuracy and critical judgment are concerned. 'Alī 'Abbās Chiryākotī, a contemporary scholar and a worthy teacher of a worthy pupil, such as Mawlānā Shiblī, has written a long Arabic poem in praise of the book, of which this couplet may be quoted here:—

لاتعجبوا ان علا كتب الذين مضوا　　فان للخمر معني ليس في العنب

(Do not wonder if the book has surpassed the books of the previous writers, because wine possesses a merit which the grape does not). The poet means to say that, just as wine excels the grapes of which it is made, so this book

surpasses all the works from which it has drawn its materials. This second hemistich has been adopted in this verse from a couplet of al-Mutanabbī.

IV. Other Biographical Works: Five.

1. *Al-Rawḍ al-Nāḍir fī man Ismuhū ʻAbd al-Qādir* (الروض الناضر فى من اسمه عبدالقادر) by ʻAbd al-Qādir al-ʻAydarūs, already noticed. It contains, as indicated by its very title, biographical notices of those Muslim religious and secular worthies who were named ʻAbd al-Qādir. It is, so far as is known to the writer of the present thesis, the first book of its kind. It contains short biographies of about 40 persons named ʻAbd al-Qādir.

2. *Zahr al-Riyāḍ wa Zulāl al-Ḥiyāḍ* (زهرالرياض وزلال الحياض) by al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī b. Shadqam. The author was an ʻArab and was born at Madīnah, but in his youth he went to India and attached himself to the Niẓām Shāhī House of Aḥmadnagar. One of the kings gave him his daughter in marriage and thus he rose to a high position, but the fall of the house reduced his circumstances and he had to leave India for Arabia, although he soon returned. The date of his death is not known. He was a learned man and a poet. The *Sulāfat al-ʻAṣr* contains a biographical note on him, with a specimen of his poetry. Besides the present work, he was the author of another work entitled *al-Jawāhir al-Niẓāmiyyah*.

The work under consideration is a large biographical dictionary, alphabetically arranged and written in a simple easy style. Though it is a sort of compilation, or perhaps an abridgment of previous works, such as the *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān*, etc., from which the compiler has taken most of his material, with a few additions from other sources, its value must not be underrated, for besides biographical notes, it contains many digressions of historical, geographical and literary interest.

3. *Sulāfat al-'Aṣr fī Maḥāsin al-Shu'arā' bi Kull Miṣr* (سلافة العصر في محاسن الشعراء بكل مصر) by al-Sayyid 'Alī Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Aḥmad Niẓām b. Ma'ṣūm, generally known as Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm. The author was a descendant of the eminent philosopher Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī. He was born in Madīnah in 1052/1642 and while a boy of sixteen, joined his father Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, who stood high in the favour of Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh at Ḥaydarābād. A year after the death of that king (1083/1672) he lost his father and was imprisoned by the new Sulṭān Abu 'l-Ḥasan, but he managed somehow or other to escape and reached the court of 'Ālamgīr, who received him with favour, conferred upon him the title of Khān under the name of Sayyid 'Alī, and appointed him to the Dīwānī of Burhānpūr. Towards the end of his life he left India for Persia, and settled at Shīrāz where he died in 1117/1705. He was an eminent man of letters, well-versed in poetical art and *belles lettres*, and was the author of several compositions.

The present work, like the *Nūr al-Sāfir*, already reviewed, is a link in an important biographical series of poets, started by Tha'ālibī* (429/1037) some six centuries back in the form of the compilation of his well-known *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and carried on by later writers, al-Bākharzī (467/1074) and Iṣfahānī (597/1200) under the title of *Dumyat ul-Qaṣr* and *Kharīdat al Qaṣr* respectively. As a matter of fact, the present work is a supplement to a similar work entitled *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā'* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khafājī, who died in 1069/1658. The author tells us in the preface that for a long time it had been an earnest desire of his to contribute to the literary

*Tha'ālibī is said to have followed the lines laid down by Hārūn b. 'Alī (d. 288/900) in his book "*Al-Bāri'*" (البارع). *Vide* Khalīfah, II, 4.

world something about the poetical geniuses of his time (*i.e.*, the 11th century) on the lines of the *Yatīmat al-Dahr* and *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, but various obstacles stood in his way, until he happened to get hold of a copy of the *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā'* which he liked very much as it was compiled on almost the same plan as he himself was aspiring to follow. He found no fault with this work, except that the author of the *Rayḥānah* omitted many poetical worthies. To make up for this deficiency, he at once sat down to compile the present work, which in the first place deals with those eminent and distinguished poets of the eleventh century whom the author of the *Rayḥānah* missed out, and in the second place fills a small gap of 13 years that lies between the date of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī's death and that of the compilation of the *Sulāfah*, which the author himself gives as 1082/1671. Moreover, our author mentions again some of those poets whom al-Khafājī has included, but with this restriction that Ibn Ma'ṣūm does not repeat those verses which al-Khafājī had quoted.

This work contains the following sections :—

Section I. Poets of Makkah and Madīnah.
,, II. Poets of Syria and Egypt.
,, III. Poets of Yaman.
,, IV. Poets of 'Ajam, 'Irāq and Baḥrayn.
,, V. Poets of Maghrib.

Altogether one hundred and twenty-four poets have been noticed, of whom some half a dozen are Indians or connected with India. This book is not merely an anthology but a biographical work as well. Its biographical notices are generally longer and more detailed than those of the *Yatīmah* or *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*. But it is to be regretted that the style is ornate and flowery, and this considerably mars its utility.

4. *Al-Darajāt al-Rafī'ah fī al-Ṭabaqāt al-Imāmiyyah Min al-Shī'ah* by the same author, is a collection of the lives of the eminent men who held the Shī'ah faith from the very beginning of Islām to the time of the author, *i.e.*, the early part of the eleventh century of the *Hijra*.

The author states in the preface that as there was no similar work in existence, he felt the necessity of compiling a book dealing with the lives of the eminent Shī'ahs. About Nūr Allāh Shustarī's *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* which exactly covers the same scope, he remarks that in the first place Nūr Allāh has mistakenly included among the Shī'ites many persons who were not really such, and in the second place, that the work is in Persian and not in Arabic

This book is divided into twelve parts, called *Ṭabaqāt*. The first *Ṭabaqah*, which deals with the companions of the Prophet, consists of four *Muqaddimah* (introduction) and two chapters. As this work has not yet been published, a full list of the contents may not be undesirable.

The first *Ṭabaqah* :

I.	Introduction	Definition of a Ṣaḥābī.
II.	„	The position of a Ṣaḥābī.
III.	„	Classification of the companions: *Maqbūl* and *Mardūd*.
IV.	„	Regarding those companions who joined 'Alī at the end.
I.	Chapter	Hāshimite companions.
II.	„	Other companions.

The subject-matter of the other *Ṭabaqah* is as follows:

The second	*Ṭabaqah*	The *Tābi'ūn* (companions of the Prophet's companions).
The third	„	Those *Muḥaddithūn* who received *Ḥadīth* directly from the Imāms.
The fourth	„	All the scholars and theological doctors.

The fifth	*Ṭabaqah*	The philosophers and scholastic theologians.
The sixth	,,	The scholars of Arabic literature.
The seventh	,,	Ṣūfīs.
The eighth	,,	Emperors and kings.
The ninth	,,	Nobles.
The tenth	,,	Ministers.
The eleventh	,,	Poets.
The twelfth	,,	Women.

As far as one can gather from all the published catalogues of the libraries, the Berlin Library alone contains a manuscript of this work* and that is incomplete, having only two *Ṭabaqāt* (the first and fourth) out of the twelve.

5. *Subḥat al-Marjān fī Āthār Hindūstān* (سبحة المرجان في آثار هندستان) by Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī.† The author was a member of the house of the Wāsiṭī Sayyids, settled in Bilgrām, and was born in 1116/1704. His father had held for seven years the appointment of *Nā'ib* in Bhakar and Sīstān, and Āzād himself acted as *Nā'ib* in the latter place from 1142 to 1147/1734. In 1150/1737 he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah where he stayed for two years, in the course of which he completed his studies of *Ḥadīth* with Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sindī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb. After his return to India, he settled in Awrangābād where he stood very high in the favour of Niẓām al-Dawlah Nāṣir Jang and his brothers from whom he never accepted any office. He died in 1200/1785. He was an eminent scholar, well versed in all branches of Muslim learning. He learnt the art of poetry from his maternal grandfather, Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. He is the only Indian poet

* Berlin, No. 10050.

† European writers generally spell 'Bilgrām' as 'Balgram', but this is incorrect. The late Sayyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī used to spell the word with an i.

who left seven *Dīwāns* of Arabic poetry. He was the author of several works both in Arabic and in Persian.

The subject-matter of this book is, as indicated by its title, India. It is divided into four chapters, the first of which deals with the excellence and eminence of India and with the references to that country in the Qur'ānic commentaries and *Ḥadīth*. The author has quoted many *Ḥadīth* and remarks of the commentators on the Qur'ān relating the story of Adam and Eve being thrown down from Paradise on the mountain named after Adam in Ceylon.

The second chapter is devoted to the biographical sketches of Indian Muslim scholars and learned men. This chapter is the most important in the whole book. It contains 43 biographical notices arranged almost in chronological order. He begins this chapter with a short account of Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī', one of the *Taba' Tābi'īn*, who went to Sind and died there in 160/776, and concludes it with an account of himself. This work is not only one of the most important sources of the present thesis, but also of all the later similar works, such as the *Abjad al-'Ulūm* and the *Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind*. The author wrote another book of the same nature but in Persian, under the title of *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, which, though chiefly intended to deal with the biographies of the eminent scholars and saints of Bilgrām, the native place of the author, contains one hundred and fifty short notices of the scholars of other parts of India also.

The third chapter of the *Subḥat al-Marjān* is on rhetoric and sets forth the beauties of prose and poetry. In this chapter the author has shown some originality which will be discussed later on in connection with philology and rhetoric.

The fourth chapter is on love, from both the Indian and the Arabian standpoint.

The first chapter really comprises a separate work of the same author, entitled *Shammāmat al-'Anbar* but he has incorporated it into the present work also.

V. Travel: One Work.

There is only one Arabic work of travel, the credit of which may be given to India, as it was written by a scholar who, though a foreigner, lived the greater part of his life in India. The title of this travel-book is *Salwat al-Gharīb fī Uswat al-Adīb*, and the name of the author is Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'ṣūm, already noticed as the author of the *Sulāfah*. In this work the author gives a detailed account of his journey from Makkah to Gulkandah at the call of his father who was already there in the service of the king of Gulkandah, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The author, while still a boy of tender age, left Makkah on Sha'bān 6th, 1066/1655, and reached his destination after three years on Rabī' al-Awwal 22nd, 1069/1658. The work we are considering was completed thirteen years later.

It is an interesting work from three points of view—geographical, biographical and purely literary. Among matters of geographical interest, besides a short geography of India, taken from Mas'ūdī, it contains information concerning al-Bayḍā', al-Sa'diyyah, al-Qanfadhah—an ancient port of Makkah now replaced by Jiddah—Bandar al-Laḥya, Makrān, Bandar Mukhā, Chitāpūr, Rājpūr, Bijāpūr, Gulbarg and Gulkandah. The author also dwells on certain special characteristics of seas, ambergris, fishes, Indian vegetables (such as spices, cocoanut, mango, betel and sugar-cane) and Indian animals (such as parrots, peacocks and elephants). While speaking of the last-mentioned animal, he removes some wrong notions that prevailed

among the people. He says that the trunk of an elephant is hollow and not solid, that its cry is not like that of a human infant, as generally believed; that the animal can sit down; and that the generative organ of the she-elephant lies, like that of other animals, between her hinder legs and not between her forelegs.

Among matters of biographical interest, the following items may be mentioned here:—

1. A short account of the ancient Hindū kings and the Hindū religion, taken from the works of previous writers, chiefly from those of Mas'ūdī, and also an account of Humāyūn.

2. Short accounts of Arabian scholars attached to the court of the king of Gulkandah.

3. A description of the Muḥarram mourning of the people of the Deccan.

4. A description of the royal marriage of Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn, the 'Abbāsid Caliphs.

As to the matters of purely literary interest, this work is so full of them that it may be said that the book is a work of a literary nature rather than of a geographical or biographical only. Being a man of poetical talents and of a highly literary turn of mind, the author could not write a book even on travel without embellishing it rather to the extreme, with digressions and observations which, though important from a purely literary standpoint, had nothing to do with the main theme. From the literary point of view the book is so interesting that it is difficult for a reader of literary tastes to leave it unfinished when he has once begun it. Of the literary matters the following are important:—

1. Complaints against the hardness of the time and how unfavourable and antagonistic it is to the learned and men of letters.

2. Lamentations upon being away from home.

3. The merits and demerits of travel: a sort of debate, representing the opposite points of view about travel, about which quotations from the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and other sayings are given.

4. A pathetic description of a departure from Makkah. Many beautiful verses are given here and there.

5. Literary and intellectual witticisms concerning money, fish, coffee, wind, the wonders of the sea, a sea voyage, a boat, a parrot, an elephant, etc. About coffee he relates an interesting story. Once a certain godly man said, in reply to a certain Turkish officer who had prohibited the drinking of coffee: "It cannot be condemned." Being asked the reason, he rejoined: "Because the numerical value of the word *Qahwah* is exactly equal to that of *al-Qawiyy*, one of the names of God."

About the elephant he has given many similes. One may be quoted here:

هذا هو الفيل الذي يبدو العجيب لنابه
ليل قد افترس النهار فبان في انيابه

(This elephant with his wonderful tusks is like a night that has preyed upon the day and so it is seen in its teeth).

6. Verses from the poetry of many poets whom he happened to meet during his travels.

The work is not yet published. The only MS. known to be existing is in the Berlin Library.*

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* Berlin No. 6136.

CHAPTER X

Philology

The contribution of India to the philological branch of Arabic literature may be discussed under three heads, *viz.*, Grammar, Lexicography, and Rhetoric.

Grammar.

Though it is true that the art of original composition on Arabic Grammar reached its zenith about the end of the seventh century, so that after Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359), the last of the four famous grammarians (the other three being Zamakhsharī, the author of the *Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Ḥājib, the author of the *Kāfiyah*, and Ibn Mālik, the author of the *Alfiyyah*), no Muslim succeeded in producing a grammatical work on original lines, based on researches of his own, yet students of Arabic grammar did not remain idle in later periods, and what they achieved is by no means insignificant.

The first book on grammar that may be mentioned here in connection with the contribution of India to this branch of Arabic literature is a commentary, entitled *Ta'līq al-Farā'īd* (تعليق الفرائد), on Ibn Mālik's *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa Takmīl al-Maqāṣid*, composed by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar al-Damāmīnī, an eminent scholar and grammarian of Egypt, who, during the latter part of his life, was attracted to India by the royal patronage of one of her princes. The author wrote this work at Cambay in Gujarāt where he arrived in 820/1417 and dedicated it to Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujarāt (814-846).

The second work is by the same author, a commentary entitled *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (المنهل الصافي), on Muḥammad b.

'Uthmān b. 'Umar Balkhī's *Wāfī*. The author wrote this commentary for another king of the same name, *i.e.*, Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (825-838), in 825/1421 when he was on the way to Aḥsanābād (Gulbarg).

The third book is the same author's commentary, entitled *Tuḥfat al-Gharīb* (تحفة الغريب), on Ibn Hishām's *Mughnī al-Labīb*. This commentary was composed in 824/1421, when the author was in Nahrwālah. All these three works produced by one and the same author under the patronage of the Indian princes and in India are of high value. Suyūṭī speaks highly of the author in his work *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*.

Next to these three works comes an Arabic syntax entitled *al-Irshād* or *Irshād al-Nāḥw*, (ارشاد النحو or الارشاد), composed by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī. He was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan during the latter half of the eighth century of the *Hijra*. He completed his studies at Delhi with Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir and Mawlānā Khwājagī, eminent scholars of Delhi in those days. When Timūr invaded the Indian Metropolis, Mawlānā Khwājagī and Shihāb al-Dīn had to leave for some other place. The teacher settled in a village called Kālpī and the pupil went so far as Jawnpūr, where Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (804-844/1400-1440) received him with honour and made him Qāḍī. The king further showed his appreciation of the newly-made Qāḍī's abilities and learning by bestowing upon him the dignified title of *Malik al-'Ulamā'*, which the recipient rightly deserved. He was the author of many works, and died in or before the year 849/1445.

Al-Irshād is a text-book on Arabic syntax and is superior to the celebrated *Kāfiyah* of Ibn Ḥājib, in the opinion of Indian scholars.* Apart from all those qualities which make it a good *Matn* (text-book), it has a strange

* See Wakīl Aḥmad's *Akhbār-i-Nuhāt*, p. 119.

characteristic which no other book on Grammar (and this peculiarity is possible only in books on Grammar) possesses ; this has been well explained in the author's own words. He says :

و تيسر لى بتيسير الله ايراد النظير لاحكامه في ضمن التعبير مثلت لكل حكم تمثيلا ينطبق بعبارته او بعبارة ما سبق او سبق -

(With the help of God it has been easy for me to set down instances of rules in words which embody the very definition of each. I have illustrated each rule by an example which fits in with the very words of the rule or with the preceding or following phrases and sentences.)

This peculiarity may be illustrated by a similar definition in English of a pronoun, *viz.*, "A pronoun is a word which is used in place of a noun." Here the very definition of a pronoun contains an example of one, *viz.*, 'which.'

To write a text-book maintaining this odd peculiarity throughout is no easy task. Yet the author of the *Irshād* has successfully overcome the difficult restrictions which he voluntarily, though pedantically, imposed upon himself. A few examples are given below :—

من الحروف الجارة من التي يراد منها ابتداء لغايته في المكان او ما يرجع من البيان و الباء لالصاق الشي بالشى و على لاستعلاء الشي على الشى و في لوقوع معنى الفعل في زمان و مكان و الى لبلوغ الشى الى غاية وعن للبعد و المجاوزة عن الشى و حتي لحصول شى حتى منتهاه و الكاف لكون الشي بشي آخر معناً -

Here is a corresponding passage from the *Kāfiyah* for comparison :—

فمن لابتداء و التبيين و الباء للالصاق و على للاستعلاء و فى للظرفيه و عن للمجاوزة و الكاف للتشبه -

This comparison of corresponding passages from the two works gives at once a clear idea of the characteristic of the *Irshād*.

Though the *Irshād* does not enjoy the wide reputation and publicity of the *Kāfiyah,* yet a careful comparison between the two works shows that the *Irshād* is the better of the two in the arrangement and treatment of the subject. Its peculiarity of illustrating a rule with the very words of its description has rendered it briefer and more comprehensive than the *Kāfiyah.* The reputation and popularity of the latter are due to the fact that it was written among an Arabic-speaking people and at a time when there was no such text-book in existence, while the *Irshād* was written in India where Arabic was never spoken (except on its western coasts and even that for a short time only), and at a time when several text-books had been composed. Though the well-known saying of the East that a second impression always excels the first, decides in favour of the *Irshād,* yet it cannot deprive the *Kāfiyah* of the superiority given to it by another equally well-known proverb, to wit, *al-Faḍl Li 'l-Mutaqaddim.* Ḥājjī Khalīfah speaks of the *Irshād* in the following terms :—

هو متن لطيف تعمق في تهذيبه كل التعمق و تانق فى تر تيبه حق التانق -

(It is a fine text-book for the systematising of which the author has made best use of his careful thinking, and for the elegance of the arrangement of which he did what could be done.)

This *Irshād* has been commented upon by several scholars. Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentions the name of Abu al-Faḍl al-Khaṭīb Kāzrūnī, who was one of the teachers of Mubārak, father of Abu 'l-Faḍl, who speaks highly of him (al-Khaṭīb) in the *Ā'īn-Akbarī.* Brockelmann gives two other names, but they are not Indian. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī, an eminent Indian scholar of Jahāngīr's time, also wrote a commentary upon it.

Shihāb al-Dīn wrote also a commentary on the *Kāfiyah,* which is known as the *Sharḥ al-Hindī* (شرح الهندي) and

has been further commented upon by no less than four scholars, as Ḥājjī Khalīfah says. The *Sharḥ al-Hindī* is one of the most important commentaries on the *Kāfiyah* (the others being one by Raḍī al-Dīn and one by the famous poet of Persia, Jāmī.) Jāmī is said to have written his commentary in response to an impetus he received from an Indian scholar. The story says that one of Jāmī's sons went to India, and a certain scholar there asked him who he was, and receiving the reply, remarked contemptuously, "Oh, I see! You are the son of Jāmī, the poet." For a poet has never been esteemed by scholars. When Jāmī heard the story, he at once resolved to prove his scholarly abilities, and so he composed his commentary. When this learned work was brought to India, the same scholar, after examining it, made the observation that there was nothing new in it and that it was based on the *Sharḥ al-Hindī*.*

The truth of the story may be doubted, but there is no doubt about the fact that save for the discussion on *Ḥāṣil wa Maḥṣūl* which the *Sharḥ-i-Jāmī* contains, there is not much difference between the two commentaries. Jāmī must have kept the *Sharḥ al-Hindī* before him while composing his own commentary. If this remark of Ḥājjī Khalīfah that† these two commentaries (Shihāb al-Dīn's and Jāmī's) supplied materials for the well-known Turkish commentary on the *Kāfiyah*, does not shed sufficient light on this inference that both the Arabic commentaries are similar, it does, however, sufficiently prove the value of the *Sharḥ al-Hindī*.

In short, Shihāb al-Dīn wrote two works on Arabic syntax: one a text-book and the other a commentary. His text-book, if it does not really excel the *Kāfiyah*, is

* Wakīl Ahmad, *Akhbār-i-Nuhāt*, p. 125.
† Khalīfah, V. 12.

certainly a serious rival to this book, while his *Sharḥ* has been a source and basis for one of the best commentaries on the *Kāfiyah*. Apart from the already noticed three grammatical works, composed by Al-Damāmīnī, if only these two books by Shihāb al-Dīn had been produced in India, even then the contribution of this non-Arabic speaking country to the grammatical section of Arabic literature would have been worthy of attention. But we find that several other works have been composed in India. 'Abd al-Rashīd Jawnpurī, already noticed, was the author of two works on Grammar: one, *Tadhkirat ul-Naḥw* (تذكرة النحو), and the other, *Bidāyat al-Naḥw* (بداية النحو). The latter book has a peculiarity of its own. All the instances given in this work have been taken from *Fiqh*. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Sialkot wrote two extensive super-commentaries on Jāmī's commentary: one is the complement of the unfinished super-commentary by 'Abd al-Ghafūr, the pupil of Jāmī, on the *Sharḥ-i-Jāmī*, and the other is a gloss on this super-commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr. Both these super-commentaries have been published in Constantinople. In addition to the works mentioned above, several other books on Grammar have been written in India (*vide* the Appendix), of which the commentary of Shihāb al-Dīn's pupil, Ṣafī b. Naṣīr, entitled *Ghāyāt al-Taḥqīq* (غايات التحقيق), on the *Kāfiyah*, may be mentioned here. Ḥājjī Khalīfah speaks highly of it.

Before this account of the works on Arabic grammar produced in India is concluded, a rather curious treatise by 'Alī Mahā'imī, whom we have known, may be mentioned here. It is not exactly a grammar, but it deals with the grammatical analysis of the opening verse of the *Sūrah Baqarah*: (ذالك الكتاب لاريب فيه). In this small book the learned author has worked out 128,344,524 different ways of analysing this small collection of a few words. This work is not known to be still in existence. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād has given a fairly long extract from it in his *Subḥat al-Marjān*. This

wonderful grammatical achievement of an Indian scholar may also go to prove that India has not failed in producing scholars well versed in Arabic learning.

Lexicography.

As to the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography, we find that three of the first class Arab dictionaries are works of scholars, connected with India in some way or the other. One of them is of foreign origin, but his father settled at Lahore, where he was born, and hence he is called Lahorī or Hindī. The second is a genuine foreigner, but he paid two visits to India and received royal patronage from the king of Delhi. The third is a native of India, was born in India, and received his early education here, and then went abroad in pursuit of knowledge, to shine eventually like the sun in the sky of Arabic learning.

The first is Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī (650/1252), who has already been noticed in the discussion on the contribution of India to Arabic literature and *Ḥadīth*. He was a great traditionist and philologist and wrote a number of books. Some of his philological works may be mentioned here:—

1. *Al-'Ubāb* (العباب), which is one of the standard dictionaries and which " after the *Muḥkam*, is the greatest of the lexicological works composed since the age of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, to the time of the author of the *Muzhir*, of those known to him."* Nothing more need be said of this work, as it is too well-known to require any further remark.

2. *Takmilah wa Dhayl wa Ṣilah* (تكملة , ذيل , صلة); a sort of critical supplement to the *Ṣiḥāḥ*. The first two parts are complete, but the third remained incomplete owing to the death of the author. It runs up to the section of the letter *'Ayn*. In one of these parts the author

* Lane's preface to his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. XV.

rectifies the mistakes made by the author of the *Siḥāḥ*, and in another he has collected those words of importance which the *Siḥāḥ* does not contain. Neither of these tasks is easy or ordinary in any way, because to write a new dictionary is not so difficult as to criticise it, to point out its mistakes, and to supply its omissions, just as Dozy's Arabic dictionary supplies such deficiencies.

3. The third work of Ṣaghānī with which we are here concerned is the *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* (كتاب الاضداد), which deals with words of opposite meanings. It is a small but useful treatise. One of the characteristics of the Arabic language is that it has many words which express two opposite meanings. For example, the word *Bay'* means both 'buying' and 'selling', the word *Ṣarīm* means both 'day' and 'night', and the word *Masīḥ* signifies "Christ" and also "Anti-Christ" (Dajjāl). This tract contains all such words arranged in alphabetical order.

4. *Kitāb al-Dhi'b* (كتاب الذئب). Another feature of the Arabic language is its large number of synonymous words. In Arabic, for instance, there are 21 words for 'light', 52 for 'darkness', 29 for the 'sun', 88 for the 'well', 350 for the 'lion' or 'tiger', 100 for the 'camel', and 255 for the 'she-camel'.* The *Kitāb al-Dhi'b* contains all the words in the Arabic language for the 'wolf'.

All these works are sufficient to prove what a great command this scholar had over the Arabic language.

The second great lexicographer who has been associated with India, in the sense of having paid two visits to that country, is Majd al-Dīn Fīrūzābādī, author of the well-known Arabic dictionary *Qāmūs*. He went to India for the first time in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (ruled 1351-1388) and the second time during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II Tughlaq.† The *Qāmūs* cannot be claimed as an

*Jurji Zaydān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al 'Arabiyyah*. I, 49.
† Huart's Arabic Literature, p. 383.

Indian product, but at the same time no one can ignore the significance of the fact that the royal patronage of the Indian courts was extended to the author of it.

The third great lexicon-writer, who was a real native of India but left it for Arabia and Egypt in search of knowledge, is Sayyid Murtaḍā Zabīdī, already noticed, who was destined to write a very comprehensive and extensive commentary entitled *Tāju 'l-'Urūs* (تاج العروس) on the *Qāmūs*. This work is also too well-known to need any discussion here.

In addition to these three great lexicographers, there has been in India another group of scholars of the same number (*i.e.*, three) who were well-versed in this branch of Arabic philology.

One of them is 'Abd al-Rashīd Thattawī who, by order of Shāh-jahān, composed a dictionary of Arabic words entitled *Muntakhab al-Lughāt*, using Persian as the vehicle. This work is much used in India.

The second of these scholars is 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Ṣafīpūr, who flourished about the end of the Mughal period and died shortly before the Mutiny. He composed a voluminous dictionary entitled *Muntaha al-'Irab*, consisting of three volumes, but here again the medium is Persian. In India this lexicon is so much used that it has almost replaced all other dictionaries.

The last of this trio is Muftī Sa'd Allāh of Murādābād, who wrote under the title of *al-Qawl al-Mānūs fi Ṣifāt al-Qāmūs* (القول المانوس في صفات القاموس) a detailed and full appreciation of the *Qāmūs* in the form of a book of more than three hundred pages. This work is so deserving of attention that though it does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as the author died about 14 years after the Mutiny, it may not be unsuitable to give here the headings of some of the thirty-five chapters of which it consists, in order to show its nature and value. :—

Chapter I. An account of the author's life.
„ II. The name of the book explained.
„ III. The actual number of the words contained in the *Qāmūs*: He has not only counted up all the actual words, but he has also given enumerations of the words in each section. He says that the *Qāmūs* deals with 10406 words altogether, of which 5777 are also contained in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* while the rest are additional words.
„ IV. A description of different MSS.
„ V. The sources.
„ VI. A comparison between the *Ṣiḥāḥ* and the *Qāmūs*.
„ VII. An account of the commentaries on the *Qāmūs*.
„ VIII. Technical terms used by the author.
„ X. Hints as to the way of consulting the lexicon.
„ XI. The peculiarities of the author's style.
„ XIII. Glosses on the difficult passages.
XIV-XXIII. The mistakes of the author pointed out under various heads.
„ XXIV. The author's wrong criticism on the author of the *Ṣiḥāḥ*.
„ XXV. Those words in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* which the author of the *Qāmūs* has omitted from his work.
„ XXVI. Those meanings of certain words which are given in the *Ṣiḥāḥ* but not found in the *Qāmūs*.
„ XXX. The unnecessary repetition in the *Qāmūs*.

Chapter XXXI. Occasional brevity to the point of obscurity.

„ XXXIII. A reply to a critic's severe criticism of the author.

This article on the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography would remain incomplete if at the end mention were not made of a most important work written in India, which is not exactly a lexicon in the proper sense of that term but a dictionary of technical terms, I mean, the *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn* (كشاف اصطلاحات الفنون), composed by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Fārūqī of Thānābhawan (in the district of Muzaffarnagar) about the middle of the 12th century of the *Hijra*, the date of its completion being 1156. This work, as indicated by its very title, deals with all the technicalities of all the Arabic arts and sciences. It is of immense help as a reference book, and has been published in two large volumes under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There is another Indian work of equal importance with the *Kashshāf* which, though not connected with philology, should be mentioned at this juncture if it is to be noticed at all. This is a bibliographical work entitled *Kashf al-Ḥujub wa 'l-Astār 'an Asmā' al-Kutab wa 'l-Asfār* (كشف الحجب والاستار عن اسماء الكتب و الاسفار), compiled by I'jāz Ḥusayn Kantūrī, a Shī'ah scholar of the 13th century. This work is a bibliographical lexicon of all the works of the Shī'ah authors, the names of the books being arranged alphabetically as in the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*.

Rhetoric, Prosody, etc.

Now to turn to the third and last branch of Arabic philology, the most important text-book ever written on the science of rhetoric *'Ilm al-Balāghah* is Al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*. On this text, many commentaries and super-

commentaries, glosses and super-glosses have been written in various countries, interested directly or indirectly in Arabic literature. India as a country interested indirectly in the literature and culture of Arabs has not fallen short of a reasonable expectation in her contribution to Arabic *'Ilm al-Balāghah*, a science comprehending several branches, for which the English language seems to have no single equivalent, unless it is literally translated as the science of elegant speech.

The first Indian scholar who wrote on one of the branches of the *'Ilm al-Balāghah* is, as far as I know, Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī whom we have noticed many times. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-'Arūḍ*, a MS. of which is to be found in the Berlin Library under the number 7127. It is a short but comprehensive treatise and deals with all the principles of prosody.

Then comes the great Persian poet of India, Amīr Khusraw. His father, Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, in the reign of Changīz Khān left his native country, Mā-warā' al-nahr, came to India, and settled at a place near Delhi, where he married the daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, of whom Amīr Khusraw was born in 561/1165. At a very early age, Amīr Khusraw displayed an extraordinary poetical genius and a strong disposition for the study of every kind of science and art, and consequently he very soon arose in eminence as a scholar and poet and met with the highest distinction in the assemblies of princes. In Ṣūfiism he became the disciple of the famous Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' who had a high regard and great love for his spiritual pupil. Amīr Khusraw served seven different kings, all of whom were favourably disposed towards him. He is regarded as the best and he greatest of the Persian poets of India, and is the author of several works. He died in 725/1324, six months after the death of his beloved

spiritual leader. His wonderful genius and rare talents enabled him to compose a voluminous and 'miraculous' work entitled *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* on the art of rhetoric. This book is in Persian, but he has given Arabic examples, all his own, of all the rhetorical devices and figures of speech that he has mentioned in this work. Amīr Khusraw invented many a literary beauty, one or two examples of which may be given here to show that an Indian mind, whether interested in Arabic or Persian literature, has never failed to respond whereever there is any call for artificial contrivances, for far-fetched conventions and for an excessive use of fancy and imagination.

One of them is what is termed *Tarjamat al-Lafẓ* (ترجمة اللفظ) by its author. This figure of speech lies in using two words which are synonymous, but of two different languages, *e.g.*,

اذا دعا لعطاياك انجمناً نادى غدا النجوم كما في مسرة شادي

(When a proclaimer invites stars for your gifts, the stars become just like a singing bird that sings for joy.)
Here the figure lies in the use of the two words *Anjuman* and *Nādī*, and also in *Masarrat* and *Shādī*. The first two words (the former in Persian and the latter in Arabic) mean 'meeting', while the last two (the first in Arabic and the second in Persian) mean 'happiness', but here the Persian meanings are not to be taken.

Another interesting figure of speech invented by Amīr Khusraw that may be mentioned here is *Dhu Ru'yatayn*, which lies in the composition of verses in one language in such a way that they may be changed into another language with a change of dots and diacritical marks. For instance,*

رشدي نديدي مرادي نجائی رماني بؤسي تباري نسائی

* Khusraw, *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, II, 64.

(My dutiful friend, my comrade, my hope, my salvation, the competition of the ladies has thrown me into disappointment). This couplet, with the change of dots and diacritical points, is read in Persian thus:—

رسیدی بدیدی مرا دی بخانی   زمانی بباشی بیاری بشائی .

(You arrived and saw me last night in an inn. Sit for a while with me. You deserve friendship.)

A still more ingenious figure of speech is what Amīr Khusraw calls *Qalb al-Lisānayn*, which is found in those verses which shift from one language to another, if they are read reversely from the last letter (not word) of their hemistiches, *e.g.*,*

مهب مینک یم راک امکب رای یایب   شاب نم اب یشا یهک اجره

which read reversely becomes a Persian verse in the following way:—

بیای یار که ما کار کنیم بهم   هر جا که باشی بامن باهش

It may be noted that the more artificial a verse, the less clear the sense, and hence the meaning of the last Arabic couplet which contains one of the most artificial and difficult figures of speech is not clear.

The greatest exponent of the subtleties of the *'Ilm al-Balāghah* that India has produced is 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Sialkot who has been mentioned many times. He wrote an extensive and copious super-commentary on the *Muṭawwal* of Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, which is in its turn an exhaustive commentary on Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*. This super-commentary has been published in Constantinople and enjoys a high repute among men of letters both in India and in Turkey.

Next comes Sayyid 'Alī b. Aḥmad, commonly called Ibn Ma'ṣūm, already noticed as the author of the *Sulāfah* and other works. Of the several works left by him, we are

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*Khusraw, *I'jāz i-Khusrawī*, II, 64.

concerned here with the *Anwār al-Rabī' fī Anwā' al-Badī'* (انوارالربيع في انواع البديع). This work consists of a *Badī'yyah* (a poem containing examples of all the figures of speech) of the author and his own commentary on it. The author after reading the *Badī'iyyah* of Ibn Ḥijjah and its commentary, composed a similar poem in order to surpass his predecessor. He afterwards wrote an extensive commentary from which the present one is abridged. An appendix contains notices of the following nine authors of *Badī'iyyahs*: Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, (752/1351), Shams al-Dīn Ibn Jābir (780/1378), Abū Jā'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Gharnāṭī (779/1377), 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī (789/1387), Ibn Ḥijjah (837/1433), Ibn al-Muqrī (837/1433), al-Suyūṭī '(911-1505), Wajīh al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Zabīdī (d. about 920/1514) and Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (1033/1623.)

The last, but not least, author worthy of notice is the great Arabic poet of India, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād who has rightly won the distinguished title of the *Ḥassān al-Hind*. The third chapter of his *Subḥat al-Marjān*, is devoted exclusively to literary beauties and rhetorical devices Like Amīr Khusraw, he was a scholar of some originality as far as the art of rhetoric is concerned. He has likewise invented some figures of speech and has creditably introduced into Arabic literature some of the rhetorical beauties of Sanskrit and Hindī.

He states in the beginning of the above-mentioned third chapter of the *Subḥat* that the ancient Hindūs invented many figures of speech and rhetorical devices, some of which are common to themselves and to the Arabs, whilst others are peculiar to them only, and so he proposes to introduce the latter kind of speech into Arabic literature, hoping that the Arabs will realise the value of Indian rhetoric as they have appreciated the merits of Indian

swords. He has adopted twenty-three of the Indian figures of speech, and has given them appropriate names. Thirty-seven figures of speech he has himself invented. In addition to these two classes of rhetorical contrivances, he has also mentioned nine old figures of speech, thus dealing with sixty-nine figures altogether, which he has discussed in three *Maqālāt* (Discourses).

To indicate the nature of the figures of speech borrowed from Sanskrit, one or two examples may be given here:—

1. *Barā'at al-Jawāb* (براعة الجواب). This beauty lies in giving one ambiguous word in reply to two different questions. The following example in English may give an idea about it. Suppose there are two questions: Why is there no fish caught? and what is wrong with this triangle? The reply in both cases may be 'Because there is no angle.'

2. Mukhālatat al-Ṣidq bi 'l-Kidhb, which means 'mixing truth with falsehood', that is to say, arguing for a false fact by means of a true fact, *e.g.*,*

واخفت اهل الشرک حتي انه — لتخافک النطف التی لم تخلق

(You have frightened the people of *Shirk* (*i.e.*, polytheists) so much that even the embryo that has not yet been born fears you.) Here the last fact is absolutely false, but it has been mentioned in such a relation with the former statement, which may be true, that the mind of the reader cannot distinguish between true and false.

Another beauty that may be mentioned here is one invented by Amīr Khusraw but named *Bū Qalamūn* by Āzād. It consists in employing in a sentence or a verse a word common to more than one language, in such a way that the different meanings of the word according to the different languages may be applicable, *e.g.*, in a Qur'ānic verse there is this small sentence (يا تينا فردا)† in which the

* This couplet is by Abū Nuwās.

† The Qur'ān, XIX, 80.

word *Fardā* means 'alone' or 'individually'. God is speaking of a certain unbeliever. He says: 'He shall come alone to us.' This word *Fardā* in Persian means 'to-morrow', which often signifies 'the day of resurrection.' This meaning is also applicable here. Another example of the same figure of speech is another Qur'ānic verse which contains this sentence: (أي الفريقين خير مقاما , احسن نديا)*. *Nadyā* in Arabic means 'assembly' and in Urdu or Hindi 'river', which is also applicable. Āzād says that God, Omniscient as He is, must have thought of the beauty of this word.

Āzād has recorded a humorous anecdote which may not be out of place to mention here. A certain Hindū, says Āzād, put this question to 'Abd al-Jalīl, an eminent scholar of Awrangzib's time: "You Muslims believe: لا رطب , و لا يا بس الا في كتاب مبين (There is nothing wet or dry but is in the book). Is there any mention of Kānā (the name of their leader) in the Qur'ān?" "Oh yes," he replied promptly, "God says: *wa Kāna Min al-Kāfirīn.*"

The following couplets of Āzād himself are good examples of the figure of speech under consideration:

و غادة من بنات الهند قد ظهرت   في زيها من اسجاف و استار
فقلت لما سرت في اللاذ مائسة   يا جندا السربل يا جند الساري

(A damsel, one of the Indian girls, has appeared in her garb—her skirts and veils; I said when she walked in red silk with an elegant gait, "What a beautiful garment, and how fair is she that walks!") Here the word *Sārī* in Hindī means a kind of Indian dress which is applicable also here. In this case the meaning of the phrase will be 'What a nice dress' in place of 'What a nice walker.'

Āzād has also composed a *Badī'iyyah* like those of other scholars. Before giving his *Badī'iyyah*, he

* The Qur'ān XIX, 73.

says, by way of a modest apology, that so far only scholars and those men of letters who have constantly been in contact with Arabic-speaking nations have composed such poems. It is a very difficult task for an Indian to enter the arena of rhetorical competition with them. "I, by the grace of God," says he, "have succeeded in composing a *Badī'iyyah.* Often it happens that a small man may achieve what may surprise great big folk."

In my humble opinion his *Badī'iyyah* is a work that may rank with those of standard authors. If a critic cannot acknowledge the superiority of his rhetorical poem over those of other writers, I am sure, he will not hesitate to regard him as competent for this intellectual competition with the literary heroes of Arabia and other countries, and this is in no way an ordinary achievement for a pure Indian.

CHAPTER XI

Literary Composition and Ornate Prose

As the production of this branch of literature, like that of poetry, demands, on the part of those who aspire to it, a complete mastery over the language and literature on the one hand, and a fine and delicate taste for literary subtleties on the other, it is, in view of the often mentioned disadvantages under which India has made her contribution to Arabic literature, rather too much to expect her to do her share in this matter to the same extent as she has done in the case of those departments of Arabic literature in which she has been less handicapped. Yet she has acquitted herself fairly well in this purely literary sphere also. This subject may be discussed under the following six heads :—

I.	*Khuṭbahs* (Sermons) ...	4	Works.
II.	Literary Selections ...	2	,,
III.	Letters	1	,,
IV..	*Belles-Lettres*	3	,,
V.	Commentaries on poetical works	1	,,
VI.	Fiction	1	,,
	TOTAL ...	12	

I. *Khuṭbahs.*

In India many *Khuṭbahs* have been composed, of which the following deserve mention :—

1. The well-known Ṣūfī of India, named Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn, styled Sulṭān al-Awliyā (725/1324), was an eminent scholar also. One *Khuṭabah* of his has been much appreciated throughout India on account of the elegance

of the style, coupled with the heart-burning expression of a lover's zeal and enthusiasm for the Divine love, contained therein. It is still recited on the pulpits at many Indian mosques. Its style is elegant and at the same time sublime. A few introductory sentences may be cited here :—

الحمد لله الذی قصرت عن رؤيته ابصار الناظرين و عجزت عن نعته
اوهام الواصلين ابتدع بقدرته الخلق ابتداءً و اخترعهم على مشيته اختراعا - وانطق
لسان الذاكرين بذكر لا اله الا الله و اودع مفاتيح الانوار فی صدور العالمين لا يعلمها
الا الله و روح المشتاقين بروح اشتياق في مشاهدة جمال الله و اهرق دم المحبين
بسيف الجلال في بيداء وصال الله و احرق قلب العاشقين بنار العشق في ابتغاء
لقاء الله و خلق الجنة والنار للمؤمنين والكفار ليجز الذين اساؤا بما عملوا ويجزي الذين
احسنوا بالحسنى - فلوكانت الجنة نصيب العارفين بدون جماله و وصاله فواويلاه
ولوكانت النار نصيب المشتاقين مع جماله و وصاله فواشوقاه —

(All praise is due to Him, of the vision of Whom the eyes of beholders have fallen short and Whom the imaginations of those who have communion with Him have failed to describe. He has created creatures with His power and brought them out of absolute nothingness into existence by His Will. He has made the tongue of the divine praisers recite *lā Ilāha Illā Allāh* and has deposited in the breasts of the learned the keys to lights known to none but God. He has animated the souls of those who are longing for the Divine vision, with the spirit of longing to behold the beauty of God, and has shed the blood of the lovers (of God) with the sword of His majesty in the desert of communion with God, and has burnt the hearts of the Divine lovers with the fire of love in their longing to meet God. He has created Paradise and Hell for the believers and the infidels in order to repay the wicked for what they have done, and to compensate the righteous for their good deeds. If Paradise be the lot of the gnostics, but without the vision of, and communion

with, Him, woe betide them; and if Hell, accompanied with the beauty of God and with communion with Him, be allotted to those who long (for God), how great will be their longing!)

The sublimity of the ideas expressed therein and the elegance of the style are too obvious to require any comment; the last two sentences are particularly exquisite in their nature.

2. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi has also composed some *Khuṭbahs*, the finest being the one that begins as follows:—

الحمدالله الذى خلق الانسان وقد اتي عليه حين من الدهر لم يكن شيئاً مذكوراً -

The beauty of this *Khuṭbah* lies in the fact that the author has ably and ingeniously incorporated some suitable phrases and sentences from the Qur'ānic chapter LXXVI into his own composition. For instance, the first sentence, which has been just quoted has been taken from the first verse of the above-mentioned *Sūrah*, with this slight alteration that the introductory words هل اتي على الانسان حين have been changed into قد اتي عليه حين, to suit the context. This beauty the author has maintained throughout. This *Khuṭbah* is very popular in India.

3. Muḥammad Ismā'īl, grandson of Shāh Walī Allāh, composed several *Khuṭabāt*, all of them being well-known in India. This Muḥammad Ismā'īl was an eminent scholar and a strict follower of *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*. He earnestly espoused the cause of this sect in India and left many works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu bearing on this puritanic and non-conformist movement. His *Khuṭabāt* are elegant and sweet in style, and inspiring and sublime in theme.

4. Lastly may be mentioned the name of 'Abd al-Ḥayy, a modern author who composed a number of books in Arabic on various branches of Muslim learning. His

book entitled *al-Laṭā'if al-Mustaḥsinah bi Jam' Khuṭab Shuhūr al-Sanah* (اللطائف المستحسنة بجمع خطب شهور السنة) contains as many *Khuṭabāt* as there are Fridays in a year. Though the author does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as he died some time after the Mutiny, yet his *Khuṭabāt* deserve mention here. Their peculiarity, apart from their charming style and elegant composition, lies in the fact that they are divided according to the number of the months in a year, each division being further subdivided according to the number of Fridays in a month. Thus each Friday has its own *Khuṭbah*, which, in addition to the general theme of *Khuṭabāt*, deals with those injunctions and religious exercises which concern that particular month and week in which it is to be recited. As to the style, they may well be compared with such standard ornate prose works as the *Aṭwāq al-Dhahab* by Zamakhsharī, and *Aṭbāq al-Dhahab* by Sharaf al-Dīn.

II. Literary Selections: 2 Works.

1. Of the Arabic literary selections made in India one of the most valuable is the *Nafḥat al-Yaman fī mā Yazūlu bi Dhikrihī al-Shajan*, (نفحة اليمن في ما يزول بذكره الشجن) which was collected by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Yamanī (d. 1256/1840) while he was at Calcutta in the service of the Honourable East India Company which did so much for the advancement of Arabic and other learning in India during its regime. He came of a family which originally belonged to Hamadān, and after some vicissitudes settled in Yaman. His father went to India to join his paternal uncle who had previously settled in Benāres, but before he reached India the uncle died and he, being disappointed at this sad news, and also at the unkind treatment he received from his cousins, went to Lucknow, where the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawlah showered royal favours on him. After staying for

some time at Lucknow, he went back to the Yaman, and on his way at Ḥudaydah he married the daughter of a Sayyid, the issue of which marriage was our author. His early days were passed at Ḥudaydah where he studied various branches of learning. Subsequently he came to Calcutta and was employed as a teacher of Arabic at the College of Fort William. After some time he resigned his post and went to Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Lucknow who showed him great favour. After the death of the Nawwāb, he visited several cities of India, and at last he died at Pūna, in 1256/1840. He wrote a number of prose works, interspersed with verse. Though his birthplace was Yaman, the field of his literary activities was chiefly India.

The merits of these selections have been fully recognised by the contemporaries of the editor as well as by later scholars. They are regarded as a useful text-book for the study of Arabic literature (in its special sense) in all the old-fashioned schools, and also in some new institutions. It is divided into five chapters. The first is devoted to short stories and literary anecdotes; the second comprises two literary debates: one between the rose and the narcissus and the other between the physician and the astrologer; the third is a poetical selection containing many poems and panegyrics, among which we find a *Qaṣīdah* of our great Indian poet Āzād; the fourth contains four *Lāmiyyah Qaṣā'id*; and the fifth is a collection of proverbs, maxims, etc.

2. The other selection that may be mentioned here is one made by Muḥammad Husayn Khān of Shāhjahānpūr (d. 1276/1859), under the title of *Riyāḍ al-Firdaws* (رياض الفردوس). It is a large compendium divided in the first place into three sections, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. We are here concerned with the first one, which is again divided into two large chapters, the first dealing with poetry and the second with prose. The second chapter is further split up

into five sub-chapters. The first contains letters of eminent scholars, of whom five are Indian; the second is a learned treatise by al-Suyūṭī on various problems of orthography, grammar, rhetoric, etc.; the third comprises selections from standard books on various branches of Islamic learning of which the treatise on Ṣūfiism is by an Indian Ṣūfī named Shaykh Faḍl Allāh of Burhānpūr; the fourth contains treatises on sciences such as logic, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, medicine and anatomy, of which treatises, one on logic is by an Indian scholar 'Abd al-Ḥaqq; and the fifth consists of selections connected with such topics as the rules of debating and study, *Taqāriẓ*, (literary appreciations), etc., among which are two Indian products. The vast scope that these selections cover makes them appear almost like an encyclopaedia. The merits of this compendium may be judged from the fact that scholars such as Sa'd Allāh Murādābādī, Turāb 'Alī and Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān have spoken of it in high terms.

It is true that the making of selections is no work of originality: selections are after all selections, that is to say, the work of others and not of the compiler himself. Yet it enables one to judge the ability and taste of the compiler, just as al-Tibrīzī has said of Abū Tammām, the famous compiler of the best-known Arabic anthology, *Ḥamāsah*, that he has manifested greater ability and finer taste as a maker of these selections than as a poet.

III. Letters and Composition Concerning Correspondence: One Work.

The compiler of the *Nafḥat al-Yaman* composed also a book entitled *'Ajab al-'Ujāb fī mā Yufīd al-Kuttāb* (عجب العجاب فی ما يفيد الكتاب) which is an introduction to the art of letter-writing, being a collection of letters on various subjects. In presenting this work to the public the author has spared no pains to render it consonant with its

title. He hopes that by his employers it will be considered as a proof of his zeal for the advancement of the Arabic language. This book is dividedinto three parts: the first deals with the correspondence of men of letters; the second with that of Sulṭāns, Wazīrs and Qāḍīs; and the last with that of merchants. The appendix, which is in itself a fourth part, is a copious collection of family letters and notes on the occasions of every day—all having that loose texture of composition which is so natural in common life. The letters contained in the first part are those that passed between the author and his friends. They are in ornate and flowery prose, there being no subject-matter beyond the acknowledgment of a letter or the expression of feelings of love and affection to the addressee. These letters are written in so artificial and pedantic a style that they seem to have been designed for the display of the writer's ability and penmanship rather than for any other purpose. One of these letters is written to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz of Delhi. It is written in a beautiful and elegant style, but the reply is in a style more beautiful still. The original letter also contains a *Mīmiyyah* panegyric in praise of the addressee, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, who in reply composed a *Nūniyyah Qaṣīdah* which, being in praise of the Prophet, deals with a nobler theme and is of sweeser melody. In the prose portion of his letter, the Shāh has given a vivid and pathetic description of the illness from which he was suffering at the time of replying to the letter. He also records his appreciation of Aḥmad Yamanī's poem (written in his praise), and the only defect he detects in it is that it was composed in praise of a person (meaning himself) who was not worthy of its contents at all. This work is interesting, and the first of its kind in India.

IV. Belles Lettres and Artificial Composition: 3 Works.

The tendency of Indian mind towards artificiality, both in prose and poetry, has already been discussed at

some length in connection with the two Qur'ānic commentaries, the *Sawāṭi 'al-Ilhām* and the *Jubb Shaghab*, in which the authors have skilfully maintained throughout the extremely artificial style of avoiding dotted and undotted letters, respectively. Apart from these two books the following three works may be noticed under the present head :—

1. *Mawārid al-Kilam wa Silk Durar al-Ḥikam* (موارد الكلم و سلك درر الحكم) by the celebrated Shaykh Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī, the author of the *Sawāṭi'*. From the standpoint of the subject-matter this book was noticed among the works on Ṣūfiism and ethics, but in the consideration of the style maintained throughout it falls also under the present category. In this work the author, as in the case of the *Sawāṭi'*, has avoided dotted letters and made use of undotted letters only. This work is divided into fifty sections called *Mawrids*, which cover a long range of ethical excellences. The author has taken his subject-matter from various sources and has reproduced them in his own way, maintaining above-mentioned figure of speech, called *al-Ṣan'at al-Muhmalah*. The very title of the book is a chronogram indicating the date of its composition as 985 A.H. The author by writing this book has undoubtedly shown a wonderful command over the Arabic language and literature. As far as is known to the writer of the present dissertation, only in India have such attempts been made to compose a complete book illustrating this figure of speech. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq of Lahore (d. 1192/1778) is said to have written a biography of the Prophet maintaining throughout the *Ṣan'at al-Ihmāl*, and the author of the *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafiyyah* remarks that it is a greater credit to its author than the *Sawāṭi'* is to Fayḍī.* This work unfortunately does not seem to exist in any of those libraries the catalogues of which

* Faqīr Muhammad, *Hadā'iq*, p. 451.

have been published. There exists, however, another work of the same peculiarity in the Rāmpūr State Library. It is a commentary on the Sūrah Yūsuf by Ṣāḥibzādah 'Alī 'Abbās Khān, who flourished in the time of Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān of Rāmpūr. Another composition with the same literary characteristic, entitled *Durūd-i-Ghiyāthiyyah,* has already been noticed in connection with works on Ṣufiismand ethics.

To show the nature and scope of the work under consideration, a few quotations may be cited :—The first *Mawrid* is *Mawrid al-Islām*, which runs as follows:—

هللوا و صلوا و صوموا و دوروا حول الحرم مواسمه واكملوا مع الاحرام مراسمه
و اعطوا مالا ماموراً للصعلوک وهوالاسلام –

(Say *Lā Ilāha Illa Allāh,* say your prayers, go round the Ḥaram in its proper time, complete its ritual rites with the *Iḥrām* and give alms to the needy as ordered. And this is Islām.) How skilfully he has mentioned the five principles without using any single dotted letter. Then he goes on to say something regarding each principle.

The next *Mawrid* is of the Qur'ān which runs :—

١ - كلام الله امام اهل الاسلام و مدار حصول المرام -
٢ - كلام الله داماء لا ساحل له وهو مصدر العلوم كلها و مودع الاسرار والحكم -
٣ - ورد – علوم كلام الله عدد كلمه -
٤ - ورد – اداؤه كما سمعوه -
٥ - رسول الله صلعم علم اداء كلام الله رحمائه و الرحماء علموا رهطاً كسالم
و عمر و عطاء و مسلم و طاوس و الاسود - و سعد و عاصم و ما
عداهم -
٦ - ورد – صدور السور اسماء لها كالحمد - طه و العصر و ما سواها -
٧ - اسماء السور مما هو المسموع كهود الرعد - اسراء -
٨ - ورد – لمالک ملک و للصراط سراط ' ورد طه مكسور الطاء و الهاء رواه
ولد مسعود -

Then come *Mawrids* of *'Ilm al-Kalām,* of Adam, of Muḥammad, of the Companions of the Prophet, of his

descendants, of saints, of kings, and then of moral virtues, each being treated in a separate *Mawrid*.

In the conclusion of his book the author has employed the reverse figure of speech, called *Ṣanʻat al-Manqūṭah*, which lies in avoiding undotted letters. This concluding portion is only two pages long, but, being full of bombastic and uncommon words, is very difficult to understand.

2. *Al-Maqāmāt al-Hindiyyah* (المقامات الهندية), composed by Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin al-ʻAlawī, on the lines of the previous works of similar nature. Nothing is known about the author except that he was an ʻArab and lived for a considerable time in India. The chronogram at the end indicates that the work was completed in 1128/1715.*

The reason for the composition of the book is mentioned in the brief preface, where we are told that one day the author went out for an excursion in a mixed company of educated and uneducated persons, taking with him the *Maqāmāt* of Ḥarīrī and Badīʻ. When he sat down to recite one of them, those who were not well versed in the Arabic language and literature naturally did not like the reading, whereupon some of those present suggested to the author that he should write a book in imitation of these works but in an easy and simple style such as might be comprehended without reference to lexicons. The author having realised the value of such a work, at once took up this literary enterprise and soon finished it. It consists of fifty *Maqāmāt* each named after some Indian town, *e.g.*, Sūratiyyah, Aḥmadnakariyyah, Lāhūriyyah, etc. The narrator is Abu ʻl-Nāṣir b. Fattāḥ who narrates the adventures and feats of Abu ʼl-Ẓafar al-Hindī—these two characters play the same part as played by ʻIsā b. Hishām and Abū Zayd respectively in the

* The author of the *Muʻjam al-Maṭbūʻāt* (معجم المطبوعات) says that the author died about 523 (p. 322), which is obviously a misprint for some other figure.

Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī. The nature of the theme is almost the same as those of Ḥarīrī and Badī'. An instance or two may be given here.

The purport of the *Maqāmah al-Sūratiyyah* is as follows:—The narrator, Abu 'l-Nāṣir says that, being attracted by a beautiful description of India he went to that country and landed at Sūrat, where he enjoyed his visit very much. One day, while walking in the city, he met a man who took him to the court of a minister and introduced him as a poet and scholar, praising him so eloquently and elegantly that the minister was much pleased with the newcomer and ordered a rich reward and a robe of honour to be given to him. All these things were received by the stranger and then they both left the minister's house. Out of this reward and gift, the stranger gave our friend very little, saying that he should wait till he (the stranger) returned from the adjacent house, into which he at once disappeared. Our friend waited and waited in vain, but the man did not come back again. The visitor enquired about the stranger and to his surprise he was told that he was no other than Abu 'l-Ẓafar al-Hindī.

In the *Maqāmah* of Aḥmadnagar, Abu 'l-Nāṣir relates that one day, as he was passing through a certain street, he came across a well where a beautiful woman was drawing water. Feeling thirsty, he asked for water. After quenching his thirst while he was having a talk with the woman, there appeared a man who wanted to take her away with him. She refused to go, and cried for help. Abu 'l-Nāṣir intervened between them. The stranger claimed that she was his wife and had run away from him —a statement which at first the woman denied but afterwards admitted. She said, "Well, I am ready to follow you, but you must give me something to eat," to which the claimant replied that he was very poor and had no money

with him. "Then why do you not borrow some money from a gentleman?" rejoined the wife. But the suggestion was rejected by the cunning husband, and our narrator was so much touched by their quarrel that he felt constrained to give them something from his own pocket. Abu 'l-Nāṣir overheard them saying as they went away, "What a nice plan we devised!" and, carefully observing the man, discovered that he was Abu 'l-Ẓafar.

The style of the book is neither bombastic nor elaborate but simple and easy. This work was not known to Mr. Chenery, the translator of the *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīriyyah*, though he gave in his introduction a list of other similar works written before or after these assemblies. No European library seems to contain any MS. of it. It has been lithographed more than once in India and India Office Library possesses a copy.

3. *Al-Manāqib al-Ḥaydariyyah* (المناقب الحيدرية), composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Yamanī, already noticed. This work was, as indicated by its title, dedicated to Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, king of Oudh, at whose court the author spent some time, enjoying the generous hospitality of his royal host and patron. When the author went back to Calcutta, he wrote the present work in recognition of the kindness he had received. This book is divided into eight chapters:—

Chapter I. An account of the king's clemency and forbearance.
" II. An account of his generosity.
" III. An account of his accession to the throne, and of his bravery.
" IV. An account of his religious practices and eloquence.
" V. An account of his minister.
" VI. Accounts of his palaces.

Chapter VII. Accounts of his gardens.
„ VIII. An account of his miracles.

In addition to the above-mentioned matters, the book is full of entertaining digressions, both literary and historical. It has been composed from beginning to end on the principle of الشي بالشی یذکر (that is to say, one topic leads to another). For instance, while speaking of the king's generosity, he says the king is more generous than the Barmakid princes, and then gives a short but interesting account of this house. Or, when speaking of his eloquence, he mentions some noted essayists and elegant writers and gives accounts of them. In this connection he refers to a letter addressed to Ṣālāḥ al-Dīn by his minister, and then he gives a sketch of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Then he mentions several kings and rulers who were well-versed in the art of composition and literature. While describing the royal palaces at Lucknow, he makes mention of some of the celebrated and wonderful buildings and cities of the world.

While digressing on a cat, he gives an interesting story, which of course is not a new one, of a Bedouin who had never seen a cat until he happened to get hold of one. While he was taking it away in his arms, he met another Bedouin who said, "What will you do with this *Sinnawr* (cat)?" He had scarcely gone a few steps further when another man asked him what he would do with the *Qiṭṭ*. To be brief, in a short time the Bedouin met seven men who put to him the same question, but each used a different word for the cat. The Bedouin thought that the little animal must be very precious, and so he took it to the market for sale. People asked him the price, to which he replied "One hundred *Dirhams.*" Then they laughed and said that it was not worth even one *Dirham*. The Bedouin, being disillusioned, threw away the cat, saying لعنة الله ما اكثر اسمائه , ما اقل ثمنه (God's curse; how many names, and how small a price!)

While describing the royal gardens, the author has not merely mentioned all the fruits and flowers, but has also given appropriate Arabic couplets in praise of them. While describing the elephants and horses of the king, he has given a curious account of an elephant. He says that one of the royal elephants had been so trained that during the first ten days of Muḥarram he used to weep and lament the death of the Prophet's grandson like a man. Then the author cites a small Arabic poem which he puts in the mouth of the dumb animal. This poem is so skilfully worded that it really resembles the shriek of an elephant. This poem runs as follows :—

واحسينا واحسينا واحسين

ان كربى هاج فيما قد جري في كربلا　　للحسين السيد المولى امام الاتقياء

من طغاة خالفوا احكام خير الانبياء　　واذاقوا اهل بيت المصطفى مر العناء

آه من جور العدي واحسينا و احسين

شتتوا شمل الهدى واحسينا واحسين

Thus every chapter of the book is full of interesting digressions, included on the plea of being slightly connected with the main theme, so making the book both entertaining and profitable.

V. *Commentaries on Standard Literary Works.*

Under this head there may be mentioned at least one work which is of some importance. It is a copious commentary entitled *Muṣaddiq al-Faḍl* (مصدق الفضل) on the well-known *Qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād*, composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, whose works on Arabic grammar have already been noticed.

On this *Qaṣīdah* several scholars, such as Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf (d. 629/1231), Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359), Ibrāhīm al-Lakhmī (790/1385) and Suyūṭī (911/1505) wrote commentaries and super-commentaries, and the present commentary is an attempt by an Indian.

The commentator begins with a short account of the poet and his poetical talents. Then he takes up the poem, couplet by couplet, and comments upon it in a very elaborate and detailed manner under the following eight heads :—

I.	*Lughat,*	V.	*Bayān,*
II.	*Ṣarf,*	VI.	*Badī',*
III.	*Naḥw,*	VII.	*'Arūḍ,*
IV.	*Ma 'ānī.*	VIII.	*Ḥāṣil* (purport).

While commenting on the first couplet, he has added one more head, *viz.*, *Qawāfī*, and this explanation, once given here, applies equally to all the remaining couplets and needs no repetition or addition.

To maintain this profoundly elaborate and detailed way of commenting throughout the poem was no easy task. Yet we find that our author has done it, and done it successfully.

VI. Legendary Work : One.

Under this head reference may be made to the *Qiṣṣat Shakrūtī* (قصة شكروتي) which is a fabulous account of the first settlement of the Muslims in Mālābār, under the king Shakrūtī of Cranganore, a contemporary of the Prophet, who was converted to Islām by the miracle of the splitting of the moon. The name of the author is not known, but this much is almost certain, that he was an Indian, because other works written about Mālābār, such as *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* and *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn li al-Sāmirī*, noticed already, were composed by natives of that country. Moreover, the subject-matter is such that only a resident of Mālābār is likely to have dealt with it. The India Office Library contains a unique MS. of it.*

* See Loth's Catalogue, 1044, IV.

The legend is briefly as follows :—

When the verse *wa Andhir 'Ashīrataka al-Aqrabīn** (Warn thy nearest relations) was revealed to the Prophet, he gathered his relatives and friends together and invited them to accept Islām, whereupon a few persons embraced the new religion, but the others turned their backs upon him and determined to prevent him from preaching his new doctrines. These unbelievers at last went to a certain 'Arab king of Madīnah, named Ḥabīb b. Mālik, and besought his help against the heresy of the new prophet. Thereupon the king, with an army of four thousand horsemen, left for Makkah, and encamped in the vicinity of the town. The king told the complainants that he thought it better first to ask Muḥammad to perform an impossible miracle. So Muḥammad was sent for, but as he was about to leave his house, the angel Gabriel came to him and informed him of the exact state of affairs. Then, having thus a complete knowledge of what was going to happen, he went to the king who, in spite of his dignity and splendour, could not refrain from standing up, to show his respects to the Prophet when he entered his court. After some preliminary conversation, the king asked him to perform the following miracle: "To-day," he said, "the fifth of the lunar month, the full moon must rise from behind the mountain of Abū Qays, speak eloquently of your being a prophet, then descend from the sky, enter your right sleeve and go out by your left, then to be divided into two halves, one half going to the East and the other to the West, and lastly join together again in the centre of the sky." When the miracle was performed by the Prophet exactly as requested, the king with his army embraced Islām and went back to his kingdom.

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* The Qur'ān, XXVI, 214.

This miracle was, on this very night, observed by a king of India named S̲hakrūtī, who collected his soothsayers and astronomers and gave them forty days in which to explain this phenomenon. When this period was over and no one could throw any light upon the matter, the king beheld the Prophet in a dream, and he explained everything to the entire satisfaction of the king. This dream caused the Indian king to become a sincere lover of the Prophet. Meanwhile, some Jews and Christians of Makkah and some Muslim travellers who were going on pilgrimage to Mount Adam, reached the capital of the king S̲hakrūtī. All of them bore testimony to the splitting of the moon. When the Muslim pilgrims returned from Ceylon to their own country, the king secretly went with them to Makkah, met the Prophet, and embraced Islām. The Prophet named him Sulṭān Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī. When the news of his arrival and conversion to Islām reached the king Ḥabīb b. Mālik, he went to visit the Indian convert and the two kings formed a strong friendship. Afterwards they decided to go to India, but when the royal party reached the port, the Indian king fell seriously ill, but while he was dying, he urged his companions not to give up the idea of going on to India. He wrote them some letters of introduction and recommendation to his ministers and courtiers; and after his death the party proceeded to India, where they were cordially received and granted every facility.

CHAPTER XII

Arabic Poetry in India

Many Indians have written Arabic verse, but since Arabic poetry, even in Arabic-speaking countries, had lost its glory and sublimity by the time that Arabic studies commenced in India, the Arabic poets of this country cannot be expected to display poetical genius of a high order. The best among them are merely elegant artists playing beautifully with words, and achieving nothing more.

Arabic poetry, like Persian, has generally thrived under the patronage of rulers and princes. The Indian Muslim kings were Persian-speaking people, and were naturally more interested in Persian poetry. Hence Arabic poetry did not receive any patronage and impetus from the courts of the ruling houses in Northern India, and though the courts of Gujarāt and the Deccan attracted many poets and scholars from Arabia, yet in the first place their number was small as compared with that of the poets and scholars who came from Persia and, in the second place, their literary activities were limited and did not enjoy any particular amount of patronage. It is to be regretted that owing to the lack of interest in such Arabic poetry as was produced in Southern India, only a few names of such poets have come down to us. Historians simply say that these courts contained several Arabian poets and scholars, but do not give their names or any account of them.

The '*Aydarūs* family of Aḥmadābād, being in constant touch with South Arabia, attracted several scholars and

poets from Arabia during the early days of their settlement in Aḥmadābād. The *Nūr al-Sāfir* contains short accounts of such poets, but their sojourn in India was temporary only. Mālābār, in which Arabic for some time had the same supremacy as Persian in Northern India, must have produced some poets; but no mention is to be found except of Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, the brother of Zayn al-Dīn, author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn*, who composed a *Mathnawī* in Arabic, entitled ʻ*al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn Li 'l-Sāmirī Alladhī Yuḥibb al-Muslimīn.* This work will be reviewed later on.

There were other Arabic poets too who settled in India, *e.g.*, Ibn Maʻṣūm, his father Niẓām, Ḥasan b. Shadqam, the author of the *Zahr al-Riyāḍ*, mentioned above, and his sons all of them were attached to one or the other court in the Deccan or Gujarāt. The *Sulāfat al-ʻAṣr*, already noticed, contains short biographical accounts of them as well as some extracts from their poetry. Now we mention, in chronological order, some of the important Arabic poets, whether Indians or foreigners but domiciled in India.

The earliest of them is Masʻūd b. Saʻd b. Salmān, better known as a Persian than an Arabic poet. His ancestors were residents of Hamadān, but his father was for sixty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of India. Masʻūd was born and brought up at Lahore.* Besides Persian, he was well versed in Arabic and Hindi, and left a *Dīwān* in each of these languages.† But it is to be regretted that his Arabic and Hindi *Dīwāns* appear to have been lost. Waṭwāṭ has

* For a critical and detailed account, see Professor Browne's translation of Mirzā Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb Qazwinī's monograph on this poet, J. R. A. S. (for 1905, pp. 693-740).

† Khusraw, Preface to his *Dīwān Ghurrat al-Kamāl.*

cited a number of Mas'ūd's Arabic verses in his *Ḥadā'iq al-Siḥr.*

Persian and Indian poets are very fond of using the figure of speech called *Tawriyah* or *Īhām* which consists in the employment of two or more ambiguous terms, which at first sight appear to be used in one sense, though really they must be taken in quite a different meaning.

The following *Qiṭ'ah* of Mas'ūd, cited by Waṭwāṭ contains this figure of speech :*

وليل كان الشمس ضلت ممرها — و ليس لها نحو المشارق مرجع
نظرت اليه و الظلام كأنه — علي الغربان من الجو وقّع
فقلت لقلبي طال ليلي وليس لي — من الهم منجاة و في الصبر مفزع
ارى ذنب السرحان في الجو طالعاً — فهل ممكن ان الغزالة تطلع

(I have seen many a night when the sun seemed to have lost its way and to be unable to return to the East and the darkness was just as if the crows were falling down from the sky upon the eye.

I said to my heart, "The night has been long and there is no escape for me from my grief and patience is my only recourse. I see that the false dawn is visible on the horizon. Is it then possible for the sun to rise?")

Here the beauty lies in the employment of two ambiguous words, ذنب السرحان which means 'false dawn' and 'the wolf's tail', and غزاله which means both 'the sun'. and 'the deer.' The poet says that it is impossible for the sun (for which he uses the word غزاله meaning also 'deer') to appear when the false dawn (for which he employs the term ذنب السرحان signifying also 'the wolf's tail') is still visible.

Next comes the greatest Persian poet that India has ever produced, Amīr Khusraw. His reputation depends

* *Subhah*, p. 27.

entirely upon his Persian poems, yet he used to versify in Arabic also. Arabic verses occur here and there in his *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* noticed in the last chapter but one. We also find some Arabic odes in his *Dīwāns*. His *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ* also contains scattered verses in Arabic. We have already noticed that he was fond of rhetorical devices and that he himself invented several. He composed one poem in which the first hemistich of each couplet is in Persian and the second in Arabic. In the preface of his *Dīwān* entitled *Ghurrat al-Kamāl*, he admits that he is not a good Arabic poet, but at the same time mentions Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn as a great Indian Arabic poet, whose poetry, he declares, surpassed that of Farazdaq and Jarīr. Of this Shihāb al-Dīn, of whom Amīr Khusraw formed so high an opinion, very little is known. Shiblī has made mention of him in his *Shi'r al-'Ajam* as the teacher of Amīr Khusraw.*

The following couplets which have been taken from a *Qaṣīdah* composed by Amīr Khusraw in praise of Sulṭān 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn (ruled A.D. 1295-1315) and which begin with the *Makhlaṣ*, *i.e.*, the line connecting the erotic, introductory lines to the main theme of the panegyric, may serve as a specimen of his Arabic poetry :

بعد التشبيب

١ - فى مهجتي سكنت محبتها كما   مدح المليك المستعان الاعظم
٢ - اعني علاء الدين سلطان الورى   ملكاً تولد من سلالة آدم
٣ - عين الحيا بل عينه عين الحيا   يم الندى بل كفه عين اليم
۴ - من جوده الفياض قد يحكي اذا   نعب الغراب على رميم الحاتم
٥ - ماكان يعطش سيفه بقرابه   الا و يسقى من كؤس جماجم
٦ - رشح لمدحتك العلية خسروا   بالشعر ليس كمثله في العالم
٧ - كن بالخلود على الا رائك قاعداً   هانا اخصك بالبقاء الدائم

* Shiblī, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, II. Account of Amīr Khusraw.

(*Translation.*)

1. Her love has housed in my soul, just as the praise of the greatest and most helpful king has done.
2. I mean 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn, the lord of the universe, who was born of the progeny of Adam as a king.
3. He is a fountain of modesty, nay, his eye is embodiment of modesty. He is an ocean of generosity, nay, his hand is identical with the ocean.
4. Stories are related of his bounteous liberality, when the crow sips water on the rotten bones of Ḥātim.
5. His sword is never thirsty in its sheath but is, on the other hand, watered from the cups of skulls.
6. Patronise Khusraw for his lofty panegyric in praise of you, as there is no match to him as poet in the world.
7. Continue perpetually sitting on the throne, as I attribute perpetual existence to you exclusively.

Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn styled Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī, the disciple of the famous Indian saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' was an eminent Arabic scholar, and used to versify in that language. The following couplet of his in praise of his teacher, Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā of Oudh, is much appreciated in India: *

سألت العلم من احياک حقا   فقال العلم شمس الدين يحی

(I asked Knowledge, "Who has revived thee?" Knowledge replied: "Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā.")

There is a pun upon the word *Yaḥyā* which, if read *Yuḥyī*, means 'revives', a translation which is also applicable here.

* *Subhah*, p. 29.

Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir, the pupil of the same Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī and the teacher of Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, was a distinguished scholar and a good Arabic poet. His *Qaṣīdat-al-Lāmiyyah*, composed in imitation of the *Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam*, is admired for the elegance of its style, the beauty of the introductory lines, the appropriateness of the *Makhlaṣ* and the fertility of its imagination. The first couplet of this *Qaṣīdah* is

يا سائق الظعن فى الاسحار والاصل　　سلم علي دار سلمي وابک ثم سلی

(O thou who drivest the camel-litters morning and evening, greet the camping-ground of Salmā and weep and then ask).

It has already been stated that Indian poets are very fond of using figures of speech. This *Qaṣīdah* is full of them. The very first couplet, just cited, contains the following four figures :

1. *Tajnīs-i-Zā'id* between سلم and سلمي ; and between سلي and سلمي
2. *Murā'āt al-Naẓīr* throughout.
3. *Ṣan'at al-Ishtiqāq* between سلم and سلمي.
4. *Ṣan'at-i-Taḍādd* between *Asḥār* (mornings) and *Uṣul* (evenings).

The poet, in the manner of a true 'Arab poet, first asks the camel-driver to greet the camping-ground of his beloved and weep over it, and then to enquire about the beautiful damsel and the kings who have passed away. Then he turns to a love-theme and speaks of the beauties and charms of his own beloved who is inaccessible, being guarded by brave swordsmen and lancers. But somehow or other he secures access to her and she is surprised to see him and asks him how he managed to avoid the guards. He replies that he is not an ordinary man but a king who always chases tigers and lions. Thereupon his beloved

yields and says that she is at his mercy and is unable to resist such a warrior. But the poet rejects her offer and replies that he belongs, to that class of people who are pious and chaste. Then after praising the Muslim community, he turns towards the Prophet.

His similes are often very apt. One or two couplets from this very *Qaṣīdah* may be cited here.

بخيلة بالوصال المستهام بها   والجود في الخود مثل البخل في الرجل

(My beloved is miserly about allowing her lover to enjoy communion with her.) The poet appreciates this attitude on her part and adds that (Generosity in a beautiful woman is as undesirable as miserliness in a man.)

خيالها عند من يهوي زيارتها   احلي من الامن عند الخائف الوجل

(The vision of the beloved in the mind of him who longs to visit her, is even sweeter than safety to one who is in fear and dread.)

Aḥmad of Thānasar, who flourished about the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century of the *Hijra*, was an eminent scholar and a good poet. Timūr, having heard of his erudition, wanted him to accompany him when he left India, but Aḥmad was unwilling to leave his native country.* His *Qaṣīdat al-Dāliyyah* in praise of the Prophet has been much admired. He connects the customary introductory love-theme with the main purpose of his poem by saying :—

"Cease to talk of Laylā and her maidens and turn to the Prophet"—etc., etc.

Shāh Aḥmad Shar'ī (d. 928/1521) of Chandiri (in Mālwah) used also to compose verses in Arabic.† Two couplets composed in reply to those of Zamakhsharī in his satire on the Ash'arites, are worthy of notice:

عجباً لقوم الظالمين تلقبوا   بالعدل يا قدوم لعمري معرفه
قد جاءهم من حيث لا يدرونه   تعطيل ذات الله مع نفي الصفه

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* *Subhah*, 38. † Rahmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirah*, 84.

[I marvel at the tyrannical (unreasonable) folk who call themselves men of 'justice', though they have no knowledge of it at all. To them 'justice' (since they do not understand it at all) means God's being deprived of His very essence and the annihilation of His attributes.]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kālikūtī of Mālābār, who flourished during the latter half of the tenth century of the *Hijra*, was also a poet. Little is known of his except that he belonged to a learned family of Ma'bar. His brother, Zayn al-Dīn, was the author of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn*, already noticed; his father, 'Abd-al-'Azīz, was a Qāḍī. 'Alī Muttaqī is reported by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī in his *Akhbār al-Akhyār* to have met him and to have had a high opinion of him.* His grandfather was also a scholar and composed a treatise in verse on Ṣūfiism, entitled *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'*, already noticed. Our present poet versified the account of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, in a fairly long poem consisting of five hundred and three *Rajaz* verses, under the title of *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn Li 'l-Sāmirī Alladhī Yuḥibb al Muslimīn*. The subject-matter of this poem and of the *Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn* is the same, but the one is in verse and the other in prose. Both the brothers were contemporary with the events related. The India Office Library contains a unique MS. of this poetical work.† In consideration of the subject-matter, this work may not be of much value, but it is not without some poetical merit. The narrative from beginning to end is simple and elegant. A few couplets may be quoted here to show the nature of the verses. After praise of God and the usual prayers for the Prophet, the poet continues :

فان هذي قصة عجيبه   فى شرح حرب شانها غريبه

* 'Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 268.

† Loth's Catalogue, No. 1044, VI.

واقعة في خطة المليبار   و مثلها لم يجر في تلك الديار
بين المحب المسلمين السامرى   و بين خصمه الفرنجي الكافر
نظمت بعضها و مالك الملوك   ليسمع القصه سائر الملوك
لعلهم إذ سمعوا يفتكرون   في الحرب او لعلهم يعتبرون
لعلها تسير في الآفاق   لا سيما في الشام والعراق
وليعلموا الهمة للسلطان   السامري المشهور في البلدان
صاحب كاليكوت المشهور   لا زال من فضل الغنى المعموره
وهو محب ديننا الاسلام   والمسلمين بين ذا الانام
ناصر ديننا و مجرى شرعنا   حتى بخطبته على سلطاننا

[This is a wonderful story, giving an account of a strange war occurring in the land of Mālābār (and the like of it never took place in that country) between the lover of the Muslims, the Zamorin, and his enemy, the Infidel *Furangīs*. I have versified some part of it, by God, so that all kings may hear the story; so that they may, when they hear it, ponder over the war or may take a lesson, so that the story may go forth in all directions, especially to Syria and Mesopotamia, so that they may know of the courage of the king Zamorin, who is well-known in all places, the ruler of the celebrated Kālīkūt (may it ever remain prosperous by the grace of God). He loves our religion Islām and the Muslims among mortals. He protects our religion and puts our law into force, so much so that the *Khuṭbah* is read in the name of our Sulṭān.]

Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'ṣūm (1117/1705), who has been referred to several times in the foregoing pages, was a good poet. His poem *al-Badī'yyah*, giving examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances, is recognised to be a valuable contribution to Arabic literature on rhetoric. The author also wrote a commentary on his own work. The *Sulāfah* contains some poems of his.

Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1128/1715), who flourished in the time of Awrangzīb and six of his successors, was a distinguished scholar and composed verses in four

languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindī. Ibn Ma'ṣūm, the author of the *Sulāfah*, is reported to have said that he never saw in India a scholar so accomplished as he was*. Ghulām 'Alī Azād, the greatest Arabic poet of India, speaks highly of his poetry.† He was an expert in versifying chronograms. One of his ingenious chronograms is that which he composed on the conquest of the for al-Sitārah by Awrangzīb.

١—لما توجه سلطان الانام الى * رب السموات في تاييد اسلام
٢—اقر ابهامه في اصل خنصره * لورد يا قادراً فتاح اكمام
٣—فصار حين افتتاح الاسم مفتتحا * حصنا لمن عبدوا احجار اصنام
٤—نظرت في الفات وهي اربعة * من فوق ابهامه من غير ايهام
٥—وجدت هن لعام الفتح حينئذ * رقما علي سنته من مد ابهام
٦—لله تلك يد بيضاء قد بزغت * للناظرين فيا للمعجزالسامي
٧—هذا البديع من التاريخ انشائه * عبدالجليل بتائيدات الهام

(*Translation.*)

1. When the king of the world turned his face towards the Lord of the Heavens for the help of Islām,
2. He placed his thumb at the base of his little finger to count the recitation of the formula يا قادراً فتاح اكمام (O Almighty God Who removes the calyxes of flowers).
3. As soon as he commenced the recitation of the Divine name, he conquered a fort which belonged to the worshippers of idols.
4. I looked into the four *Alifs* standing above his thumb.
5. I found them at that time to be a figure on the word *Sanah* (سنه) which is formed by the thumb liying down, to indicate the year of the conquest.

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* *Subhah,* 80.
† *Ibid.,* 80.

6. How excellent this bright hand which has been miraculously held up for the spectators !
7. This is a very curious chronogram which 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl has composed with Divine inspiration.

This victory was gained by 'Ālamgīr in the year 1111/1699. For *Wird* counting is essential and the first number is counted by placing the top of one's thumb at the base of the little finger of the same hand. Now what the poet means to say is this that as soon as the king sat down turning his face towards God and counted the first recitation of the formula by placing his thumb at the base of his little finger, the fort was conquered, and this very position of his thumb and fingers indicated the year of the conquest, the four fingers standing for the four figures 1111 and the thumb lying down, for the small dash generally written in place of the word *Sanah* (year).

He was a poet of fertile imagination, and his poetry is fanciful throughout. One or two examples may be given here :

حبيبي قوس حاجبه كنون * وصاد يد ابن مقله شكل عينه
لعمري انه نص جلى * على ان الرماية حق عينة

[The eyebrow of my beloved is like the letter *Nūn* (ن) and the form of his eye is like the letter *Ṣād* (ص) written by Ibn Muqlah, the great calligrapher. The harmonious combination of the eyebrow and the eye, (that is of ن and ص) is a *Naṣṣ* (*i.e.*, positive proof) of the fact that shooting glances is the right of his eye.] The word مقله, which means the eyeball, is associated with the other words. This is the reason why the poet has chosen the name of Ibn Muqlah for this purpose.

حبيبي ثغره كالسين شكلاً * وكالميم المدور شكل فيه
هما سم و يا عجبا حياتي * اذا ما ذقته لا شك فيه

[The teeth of my beloved are like the letter *Sīn* (س) and his mouth like the rounded *Mīm* (م). The

combination of these two is سم (poison), but it is strange that the more I taste it (*i.e.*, kiss his mouth and teeth) the more life do I gain.] Also note the pun that the same word فيه in the first hemistich means 'mouth' and in the second means 'in it.')

In short, he was a clever poet and had a complete mastery over every figure of speech. Waṭwāṭ says that a certain couplet by Badī' al-Zamān is so beautiful that no one could ever compose a verse to match it, but 'Abd al-Jalīl succeeded in producing a couplet of the same type. The verse by al-Badī' runs :—

هو البدر الا انه البحر زاخراً * سوى انه الضرغام لكنه الوبل

(He is the full moon but at the same time the ocean in swell. He is a lion but at the same time a shower of rain.)

'Abd al-Jalīl's couplet runs :—

هوالقطب الا انه البدر طالعاً سوى انه المريخ لكنه السعد

(He is the pole-star but at the same time the full moon arising. He is Mars but at the same time auspicious.)

Sayyid Muḥammad (1158/1745), the son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl, was also a fine poet and was fond of playing with words and phrases.

Bilgrām has produced many scholars and poets besides 'Abd al-Jalīl, *e.g.*, Sayyid Ṭufayl Muḥammad (d. 1151/1738), Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1172/1758) and Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād (1200/1785) of whom I shall speak later on.

In Delhi the family of Shāh Walī Allāh was noted for its Islamic learning and also for Arabic poetry. He himself, his father 'Abd al-Raḥīm, and his sons 'Abd al-'Azīz and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, all used to compose Arabic verse. 'Abd al-Rahīm's poem in reply to that by Abū 'Alī Sīnā on 'The Soul' is beautiful. Shāh Walī Allāh's Arabic panegyrics (in praise of the Prophet) with Persian commentaries by the

same author, have been published and are much appreciated. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz also sang the praises of the Prophet. Rafī' al-Dīn enlarged the poem of his grandfather on 'The Soul' by adding three hemistiches more to every couplet.

Muḥammad Bāqir of Madras (d. 1220/1805) left an Arabic *Dīwān*; but I have failed to find a copy in any library. He was a prolific writer and left many works.

The most important Arabic poet of India is Ghulām 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmī, of whom a short biographical sketch has already been given. Just as Amīr Khusraw enjoys the reputation of being the greatest Persian poet of India, Āzād holds a similar place in respect of Arabic poetry. But while it may be said of Amīr Khusraw that he was not an Indian in the strict sense of the word, as his father only came to India from Persia, Āzād was entirely Indian, as his ancestors had migrated to India several generations back.

Āzād left seven *Dīwāns*, selections from which have been published under the title of *Sab'ah Sayyārah* (سبعه سياره). He composed a large number of panegyrics in praise of the Prophet, and collected these poems in a separate book with the title *Tasliyat al-Fu'ād* (تسلية الفؤاد). He has rightly won the title of *Ḥassān al-Hind*, in comparison with Khaqānī, who is known as *Ḥassān al-'Ajam.*

That the poetry of Āzād has not received general recognition outside India, is due to the conditions of the times in which he lived. Communications and interchange of literary products between India and Egypt or Arabia were not so easy as those between Persia and India in the days of Khusraw. Moreover, every country has its own prejudice against the poetry produced by foreigners in its own language. Persians, for instance, will not recognise the worth and merit of Persian poetry produced by foreigners, and Amīr Khusraw and Fayḍī do not enjoy the same

amount of appreciation and admiration in Persia as they do in India or Turkey. Yet when the panegyrics of Āzād reached the scholars at Madīnah, they appreciated them and presented them to the Sanctuary. When 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ṭanṭāwī, an eminent man of letters in Makkah, with whom our poet read *Ḥadīth*, heard his pupil's *Qaṣā'id*, he much appreciated them, and when he learnt the meaning of his poetical name, Āzād, he said at once سيدي انت من عتقاء الله (Sir, you are one of those whom God has set free.)

Āzād was a born poet and had a fine taste for poetry. He composed poems in Persian also. He is the author of two Persian books on Persian poets which are much appreciated and used by scholars. It is rather strange that Brockelmann's great history of Arabic literature contains no reference whatsoever to him or his work, although he mentions several Indian authors. Perhaps it may be due to the fact that he had not come across any work by Āzād. His *Subḥat al-Marjān*, which is the first book of its kind, was lithographed in Bombay as early as 1885. This book has already been noticed.

Āzād wrote a long poem of 105 couplets, entitled *Mir'āt al-Jamāl*, describing and praising all the parts of the body, from the head to the foot, of the beloved, two couplets being devoted to each and every part. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, a prolific writer and a learned scholar of India (d. 1890), who reproduced this poem in his *Nashwat al-Sakarān*, says that Āzād was the first poet to compose this sort of poem in Arabic. Of course, solitary verses in praise of various parts of the beloved's body are found more or less in the poetry of every poet. But just as Ṣafīyy al-Dīn Ḥillī was the first poet to compose a *Badī'iyyah*, though single examples of the figures of speech had been in existence for a long time, so Āzād's *Mir'āt al-Jamāl* is the first poem of its kind. Āzād himself says that he laid the foundation and started the building. Whosoever came

after him would simply add to the edifice. But 'no one,' says Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, 'has so far added anything to it.' A few verses from this poem may be cited here, to show the nature of the poem and also to point out the peculiarities of Āzād's poetry.

مطلق الحسن

(*Beauty in General*)

بى ظبية من ابرق الحنان   من مثلها فى عالم الامكان
شمس تباهي بالسنا امة لها   و كواكب اخرى من الغلمان

[I have (a beloved) whose beauty is as that of a gazelle of the valley of Abraq al-Hannān (noted for the beauty of its inhabitants). Who is like unto her in this world?
The sun that boasts of its light is a maid-servant to her, and the other stars are her pages.]

الظفيرة

(*A lock of Hair*)

اضفيرتان على بياض خدودها   او فى كتاب الحسن سلسلتان
اوليلتا العيدين اقبلتا معاً   او من قصائد هم معلقتان

(Are there two locks of hair on the whiteness of her cheeks, or two marginal columns on the book of beauty, or two nights of the two '*Īd* festivals that came together, or are they two of the Seven Panegyrics (hung on the *Ka'bah*)?)
In the last hemistich, the face of the beloved has been compared to the *Ka'bah* which the Muslims venerate.

الجبهة

(*Forehead*)

لله جبهتها المضيئة فى الدجى   وهب الاله لها علو مكان
هي نصف بدر كامل لكنها   تربو على القمرين فى اللمعان

[How beautifully her forehead shines in the darkness! God has bestowed on it a lofty place.

Though it (the forehead) is one-half of the full moon, yet it is above the two full moons (*i.e.*, cheeks) in brightness.]

الحاجب

(*Eyebrow*)

ابصر حواجبها و ادرك كنهها   غصنان منحنيان في وسط البان
او كافران يشاوران ليوقعا   آمالنا في موقع الحرمان

(Look at her eyebrows and understand their nature. They are two curved branches at the centre of the *Bān* tree, or two infidels consulting together in order to frustrate our hopes.) One of the meanings of *Kufr* is 'darkness', hence the two eyebrows are compared to two *Kāfirs*.

العين

(*Eye*)

طرفا الحبيبة ماكران تمارضا   و تغافلا عن رؤية الجيران
او نرجسان على غصين واحد   و هما بماء مسكر نضران

(Both the eyes of the beloved are cunning and pretending to be sick and to neglect looking at the neighbours. Or they are two narcissuses on a small bough, and both of them are fresh on account of intoxicating water.)

In short, these fifty stanzas, each consisting of two verses, contain a poetical and fanciful description of fifty parts of the beloved's body, and the remaining five verses form the conclusion of the poem. In this conclusion he gives the date of the composition, namely, (1187/1773) and claims originality for the poem, saying :—

ما ان سمعنا مثلها عن شاعر   آزاد للطرز المنشط بان

(We have not heard a similar poem from any poet Azād is the inventor of this charming form.)

The following verses taken at random from Āzād's poetical works other than the *Mir'āt al-Jamāl* from

which we have just quoted several couplets, may further indicate his style:—

الا لكل حسين الوجه اشباه * ولا نظير لمن اهواه الا هو

(Every beautiful person has matches, but to my beloved there is no match except himself.)

فرد جليل لا يشاهد مثله * من ثم رؤيته شفاء الاحول

(He is a dignified unit whose parallel is never seen Hence looking at him is a cure for the squint-eyed.)

يا ايها الملك الرفيع جنابه * لم يلف في كل الورى لك ثاني
ظل لرب العرش انت و ظاهر * ان لا يكون لواحد ظلان

(O king having a lofty threshold, no match to you can be found among all the creatures. You are the shadow of the Lord of the Divine throne and it is obvious that one person does not have two shadows.)

ان تبتغوا ماء الحيوة ذا الكرم * في الهند لا في موضع الظلمات

(If you seek water of immortality, it will be found in India and not in the place of darknesses.)

هي خمرة الشاربين كرامة * اذ انت تحسبها عقيقاً ذائباً

(It is wine for the drinkers or you may regard it as melting ruby.)

السرو يرجو ان يميس كقده * ويفوز فوق الارض با لخطوات
و الورد امل ان يكون كخده * فاتي ببسط الكف للدعوات

(The cypress tree wishes to swagger like his stature and to move about with steps on the earth and; the rose desires to be like his cheek and so it has appeared with a palm open for prayers.)

صدر الاماثل مولانا و سيدنا * جنابه قبلة الانسان و الملك
شم الجبال تعلت عنده سفهاً * وما درت انه اعلي من الفلك

[He is superior to all his equals, he is our lord and our master. His threshold is a sacred place for the man and the angel. The summit of the mountains rises high

out of meanness before him, not knowing that it (his threshold) is higher than the sky.]

مررت علي طفل بديع جماله * يطالع صرفا و الكراريس في اليد
فقلت له لا زال علمك زائدا * ابن لى بابا للثلاثي المجرد

([I passed by a handsome boy who was studying etymology and had some sheets of paper in his hand.

I said to him: 'May your knowledge be ever increasing, form for me a *Bāb* of the *Thulāthī Mujarrad*.)

Peculiarities of Āzād's Poetry.

1. An abundance of that form of fancy and imagination which is foreign to a genuinely Arabian poet, Āzād's poetry deviates from the poetry of the pre-Islāmic Arabs and of the poets of the early Islāmic period in the same way as Mutanabbi's poetry does. At the time of Mutanabbī Persian poetry had not fully developed, and so his poetry was much less influenced by the Persian mind than was Āzād's Arabic poetry, with the result that Āzād's Arabic poetry is richer in fancy and imagination, though poorer in poetical power and linguistic merits than Mutanabbī's.

2. Azād is very fond of using figures of speech and rhetorical devices. This tendency is to a great extent an Indian characteristic. Amīr Khusraw also had the same taste. His *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* and *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* are more or less rhetorical products. Āzād himself introduced several figures of speech, as has already been pointed out. He also composed a *Badī'iyyah*.

3. Before Āzād, Hindī and Sanskrit poetry never influenced Arabic poetry. During Akbar's time there had been one poet who used to compose Arabic verses according to Hindī metres, but that was quite a different thing. Perhaps it was meant for amusement and not as a serious literary effort. Āzād introduced Hindī and Sanskrit

similes into his poetry. He also made use of some Hindī and Sanskrit figures of speech in his Arabic verses. Examples have already been given in the account of his *Subḥat al-Marjān.*

4. Āzād composed Arabic poems in all the forms of Persian poetry. In his poetry we find many examples of *Rubā'ī*, *Mathnawī*, *Mustazād*, etc. Arabic *Urjūzah Muzdawijah* corresponds to Persian *Mathnawī* as far as the question of rhyming is concerned; but in respect of metres they differ from each other. Āzād introduced the metres of Persian *Mathnawī* to Arabian *Muzdawijah*, and composed *Mathnawīs* in Arabic also. His *Maẓhar al-Barakāt* is an Arabic *Mathnawī* composed in a purely Persian metre. About this *Mathnawī*, Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan has remarked that it is well composed.*

*Siddīq Hasan, *Abjad*, p. 922.

PART II

(List of the Arabic Works Composed in India or by Indians.)

Arrangement of the List of the Arabic Works Written in India or by Indians.

1. The list is divided under the same eleven headings as the first part of the thesis.

2. Under each head, authors are arranged chronologically according to the dates of their death or the period in which they flourished. The names of those authors whose date could not be ascertained are given at the end of each section under the sub-heading "Works of Unknown Dates."

3. After the name of each author, a short biographical information is given, followed by the sources for his life, arranged in the order of date. Then are given cross-references to the different sections under which other works of his are mentioned. Biographical authorities of an author are given only in that section in which his work is mentioned for the first time. In subsequent sections references only are given.

4. In each section, the works of an author have been arranged under three heads: A, B and C. Under A only printed works are given, with indications of libraries in which MSS. of these works may be found. Under B only such MSS. are mentioned as are not known to me to have been published. Under C those works are mentioned the titles of which have come down to us but no copies are known to exist, the source of the information being mentioned.

5. At the end, the titles of all the Indian works are arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the names of the authors.

List of Abbreviations used in Part II only.

(*N.B.*—The titles, etc, of the books quoted once or twice only are given in full wherever they occur.)

ABJAD: *Abjad al-'Ulūm* by Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān.

Ā'ĪN: *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* by Abu 'l-Faḍl edited by Blochman.

AKHBĀR: *Akhbār al-akhyār* by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi, Mujtabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1309.

ĀZĀD: Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād.

BADĀ'ŪNĪ: *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* by Mullā 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī (Bibliotheca Indica).

BEALE: *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale; new edition revised and enlarged by H. G. Keene.

BROCKELMANN: *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, two volumes, by Dr. C. Brockelmann.

ELLIOT: *History of India* by Sir H. M. Elliot, edited by Professor J. Dowson.

FARḤAT: *Farḥatu 'l-Nāẓrīn* by Muḥammad Aslam b. Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, published in the Oriental Magazine of Lahore, No. XIV.

AL-FAWĀ'ID: *Al-fawā'id al-bahiyyah fī tarājim al-Ḥanafiyyah* by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī.

FARANGĪ: *Tadhkirah-i-'Ulamā'-i-Farangī Maḥall* by 'Ināyat Allāh.

FIRISHTAH: *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishtah* by M. Qāsim Firishtah.

ḤADĀ'IQ: *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafiyyah* by Faqīr Muḥammad Lāhorī.

ITḤAF: *Itḥāf al-nubalā' bi-iḥyā' ma'āthir a'-fuqahā' al-muḥaddithīn*, by Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, Cawnpore.

KHALĪFAH: *Kashf al-ẓunūn*...by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Leipzig.

JURJĪ ZAYDĀN: *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah* by Jurjī Zaydān, Cairo.

KASHF: *Kashf al-ḥujub wa 'l-astār 'an asmā' al-kutub wa 'l-asfār* by I'jāz Ḥusayn of Kantūr (Bibliotheca Indica).

AL-KAWĀKIB: *Al-kawākib al-sā'irah bi manāqib a'yān al-mi'at al-'āshirah* by Najm al-Dīn M. b. M. (MS. in British Museum).

MA'ĀTHIR: *Ma'āthir al-kirām* by S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī.

MAḤBŪB: *Maḥbūb al-albāb fī ta'rīf al-kutub wa 'l kuttāb* by Khudā Bakhsh, Ḥaydarabad, 1314.

MUḤIBBĪ: *Khulāṣat al-athar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar* by Muḥammad Muḥibbī.

MU'JAM: *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabiyyah wa'l Mu'arrabah* by Yūsuf Sarkīs, Cairo.

MURADĪ: *Silk al-durar fī a'yān al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar*, by Muḥammad Khalīl Efendi Murādī.

NADHĪR AḤMAD: *Notes on important Arabic and Persian MSS. found in various Libraries in India*, by Ḥafiẓ Nadhīr Aḥmad (in the J. A. S. B. Vols. xiii and xiv).

NUḤĀT: *Akhbār-ī-nuḥāt* by Wakīl-Aḥmad.

NUJŪM: *Nujūm al-Samā'* by Muḥammad 'Alī Kashmīrī.

AL-NŪR: *Al-nūr al-sāfir 'an akhbār al-qarn al-'āshir* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydarūs (MS. in the British Museum).

NUZHAT: *Nuzhatu 'l-Khawāṭir* by Mawlawī 'Abdu 'l-Ḥayy of Lucknow, (only a portion has been published and the rest exists in MS. which is in the possession of his son, Dr. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī.

QĀMŪS: *Qāmūs al-Mashāhīr* by Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Badā'ūnī.

RAWḌAT AL-ABRĀR: by Muḥammad Ābu 'l-Ḥasan known as Muḥammad al-Dīn Qādirī of Lahore, Jihlam, 1885.

SAFĪNAH: *Safīnat al-awliyā'* by Dārā Shukūh.

SUBḤAH: *Subḥat al-marjān fī āthār Hindustān* by S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.

ṬABAQĀT: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shahjahānī* by Muḥammad Ṣādiq (MS. in the British Museum).

TADHKIRAH: *Tadhkirah-i-'ulamā'-i-Hind* by Raḥmān 'Alī, Lucknow, 1914.

TAJALLĪ: *Tajallī-i-nūr ma'rūf bi Tadhkirah-i-Mashāhīr-i-Jawnpūr* by S. Nūr-al-Dīn Zaydī, Part II.

WÜESṬENFELD: *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre werke* by Wüestenfeld.



List of Abbreviations used for the Catalogues of Different Libraries and Collections of Manuscripts.

[*N.B.*—The titles of the catalogues of the libraries, referred to once or twice, are given in full wherever they occur. The abbreviations other than the following are either obvious or at least known to the Orientalists concerned.]

'ABD ALLĀH—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Chelebī 'Abd Allāh*, Constantinople.

ALGER—*Alger Catalogue general des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France.*

'ALĪGARH—*Fihrist-i-nusakh-i-qalamī* of Subḥān Allāh's Oriental Library, Muslim University, 'Alīgarh.

'AMŪJAH ḤUSAYN—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah* of 'Amūjah Ḥusayn, Constantinople.

'ĀRIF—Catalogue of the Library of 'Ārif Ḥikmat Bey at Madīnah, (in the *Ma'ārif* of A'ẓamgarh, Vol. XVIII, pp. 333.)

AS'AD ĀYĀ—Catalogue of the Library of As'ad Āyā at Constantinople.

AS'AD EFENDĪ—Catalogue of the Library of As'ad Efendī at Constantinople.

AS'AD EFENDĪ MADRASAH—Catalogue of the Library of As'ad Efendī's Madrasah at Constantinople.

ĀṢAFIYYAH—*Fihrist-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Āṣafiyyah, Ḥaydarābād.*

'ĀSHIR—Catalogue of 'Āshir Efendī's Library at Constantinople.

'ĀṬIF—Catalogue of 'Āṭif's Library at Constantinople.

ĀYĀ ṢŪFIYAH—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Āyā Ṣūfiyah*, Constantinople.

BĀNKĪPŪR—Catalogues of the Arabic MSS. at Bānkīpūr.

BASHĪR ĀGHĀ—Catalogue of Bashīr Āghā's Library at Constantinople.

BENGAL—Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian books and manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf 'Alī.

BENGAL I—List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1903-7.

BENGAL II—List of Arabic and Persian books and MSS. acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1908-10.

BERLIN—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. of the Berlin Library, compiled by Ahlwardt.

BOMBAY—Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian books and MSS. in the Bombay University Library.

BRITISH MUSEUM—Catalogues of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum.

BŪHĀR—*Catalogue raisonne of the Būhār Library*, Vol. II. Arabic MSS.

CALCUTTA—*Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamālu' d-Dīn and 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir.*

CAMBRIDGE—Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, compiled by Palmer.

CAIRO—Catalogue of the Arabic books and manuscripts in the Khidīwī Kutubkhānah of Cairo.

DAMĀD IBRĀHĪM—Catalogue of the Library of Dāmād Ibrāhīm at Constantinople.

DĀMĀD QĀḌI—Catalogue of the Library of Dāmād Qāḍī at Constantinople.

DĀMĀD ZĀDAH—Catalogue of Dāmād Zādah's Library at Constantinople.

DELHI—Hand-written Catalogue of Arabic Delhi MSS. in the India Office.

DĪN PĀSHĀ—Catalogue of Dīn Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

EDINBURGH—*A descriptive list of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in Edinburgh University Library.*

ESCUR—Derenbourg, H. *Les Manuscrits Arabes* de l' Escurial I.

ETHE—Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the India Office.

FĀTIḤ—*Daftar-t-Fātiḥ Kutubkhānahsi*, Constantinople.

FAYḌ ALLAH—Catalogue of the Library of Fayḍ Allāh at Constantinople.

ḤAMĪDIYYAH—Catalogue of the Ḥamīdiyyah Library at Constantinople.

ḤUSAYN PASHA—Catalogue of Ḥusayn Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

INDIA OFFICE—The second volume of the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library by Mr. C. A. Storey and Mr. A. J. Arberry.

ISMĪKHĀN—Catalogue of Ismīkhān's Library, at Constantinople.

IVANOW—Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Ivanow.

JĀMI' SHARĪFĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Jāmi' Sharīfī at Constantinople.

KAMANKASH—Catalogue of the Library of Amīr Khwājah Kamān Kash at Constantinople.

KHUSRAW—Catalogue of Khusraw Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

KOPRĪLĪ—Catalogue of Koprīlīzādah at Constantinople.

LĀLAH-LĪ-*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Lālah-lī*, Constantinople.

LEYDEN—*Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.*

LOTH—*A Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the India Office Library*, compiled by Loth.

MADRĀS—*Alphabetical Index of MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madrās.*

MAḤMŪD—Catalogue of Maḥmūd Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

MAḤBŪB—*Maḥbūbu 'l-albāb fī ta'rīf al-Kutub wa 'l-Kuttāb* by Khudā Bakhsh (A Catalogue of his private Library, now at Bānkipūr).

MIFTĀḤ—A hand list of the Arabic MSS. in the Bānkipūr Library, entitled *Miftāḥu 'l-Kunūz*, compiled by 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd.

MIHRSHĀH—Catalogue of the Library of Mihrshāh at Constantinople.

MORLEY—A *descriptive Catalogue of the historical MSS.* in the Arabic *and Persian languages preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

NADHĪR AḤMAD—Notes on important Arabic and Persian MSS. found in various Libraries in India by Ḥāfiẓ Nadhīr Aḥmad (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. xiii, pp. lxxvii—cxxxix and Vol. xiv, pp. cxcix—cccl vi).

NADWAH—Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian books and MSS. in the Library of Nadwatu 'l 'ulamā', Lucknow.

NADWAH (N)—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the collection presented by Nawwāb Nūru 'l Ḥasan to the Nadwah.

NŪR-I-'UTHMĀNIYYAH—A Catalogue of the Nūr-i-'Uthmāniyyah Library at Constantinople.

PARIS—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the National Library of Paris, compiled by de Slane.

PESHĀWAR—*Lubāb al-Ma'ārif al-'ilmiyyah fī maktabat Dār al-'ulūm al-Islāmiyyah* (لباب المعارف العلميه فى مكتبه دارالعلوم الاسلاميه) by 'Abd al-Raḥīm, (A Catalogue of the Oriental Section of the Library of the Islāmiyyah College, Peshāwar.)

PET—Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg.

PET. ROS.—Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Institute of the Oriental Languages, St. Petersburg, compiled by Rosen.

PĪR MUḤAMMAD SHAH—Catalogue of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh Library at Aḥmadābād.

QILIJ 'ALĪ—Catalogue of Qilij 'Ali Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

RAGHIB—Catalogue of Rāghib Pāshā's Library at Constantinople.

RAMPŪR—Catalogue of the Rāmpūr State Library.

RIEU—Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, compiled by Rieu.

SALĪM ĀGHĀ—Catalogue of Salīm Aghā's Library at Constantinople.

SARWĪLĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Sarwīlī at Constantinople.

SULAYMANĪYYAH—Catalogue of the Sulaymāniyyah Library at Constantinople.

UGHLĪ—Catalogue of the Library of Ughlī at Constantinople.

UPSALA—*Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitis Upsaliensis.*

YAḤYĀ—*Daftar-i-Kutubkhānah-i-Yaḥyā Efendī*, Constantinople.

YENĪ—Catalogue of the Yenī Library at Constantinople.

VIENNA—A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS. of the Vienna Library by Flügel.

WALĪ AL-DĪN—Catalogue of Walī al-Dīn's Library at Constantinople.

SECTION I

QUR'ĀNIC LITERATURE.

1. Abū Bakr Isḥāq b. Tāj al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḥasan al-Ṣūfī al-Bakrī al-Multānī al-Ḥanafī, called Ibn al-Tāj (d: after 736/1335).

Nothing is known of him except that he is the author of several works.

[1. Brockelmann ii 220, 2. Storey 51.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

B. *Khulāṣat jawāhir al Qur'ān fī bayān ma'ānī al-Furqān* (خلاصة جواهر القرآن فی بیان معانی الفرقان) *: Berlin 876.

C. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* (جواهر القرآن) : (Mentioned in his introduction to the *Khulāṣah*)

2. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadhānī (786/1384).

He was born in 714 A. H. at Hamadhān and was a disciple of 'Alā'u 'd-Dawlah Samnānī. He travelled extensively. In 781 he with 700 Sayyids emigrated to Kashmīr where he acquired a great influence over Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Shāh, the ruler of the country.

[1. Jāmī, Nafaḥāt 518, 2. Ṭabaqāṭ folio 13 b, 3. Ḥadā'iq 297, 4. History of Kashmer, J.R.A.S. of Bengal xxiii p. 414, xxxiii p. 278, 5. Rieu, Persian Cat. 447, 6. Brockelmann ii 221, 7. Tadhkirah 148, 8. Rawḍat 12, 9. Nuzhat 87, 10. Qāmūs i 317.]

(For other works of his, see sections II and IV).

*Mr. Storey has included this work in his Qur'ānic Section of his *Persian Literature* simply because the author has given the Persian meanings of some Qur'ānic words. It is really an Arabic work in which Arabic has been used as the medium of expression throughout. Only the meanings of some words have also been given in Persian.

B. *Al-Risālah fi 'l-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* (الرسالة فى الناسخ و المنسوخ): Delhi 981 b.

3. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (835/1432).

For a short account of his life, refer to p. 15.

[1. Akhbār 174, 2. Ma'āthir, 189, 3. Subḥah 39, 4. Abjad 893, 5. Maḥbūb 50, 6. Tadhkirah 147, 7. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's *Taqrīẓ* on the *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī*, lithographed at Bombay, p. 10, 8. Brockelmann ii 221, 9. Āzād 16.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

A. *Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān*, (تبصير الرحمن و تيسير المنان بعض مايشير الى اعجازالقرآن) MSS.: Berlin 870, 925, 931; Koprili 84-7; Qilij 'Alī 42; Loth 97-8, Dāmād Ibrāhīm 127; Cairo I 135; see Brockelmann and also India Office 1142.

C. *Al-Risālah fī bayān wujūh i'rāb qawlihī Ta'ālā Alif-lām-mīm dhālika......li 'l-muttaqīn* (الرسالة فى بيان وجوه اعراب قوله تعالى : الم ذالك الكتاب ... للمتقين) (*N.B.*—The *Subḥah* p. 40 contains an extract from it.)

4. Khwājah Ḥusayn Nāgorī (901/1495).

He was a descendant of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn Nāgorī. He stayed for a long time in Gujarāt where he became a disciple of Shaykh Kabīr.

[1. Ā'īn ii 222, 2. Tadhkirah 49.]

(For an other work of his, see section IX.)

C *Nūr al-nabī* (نور النبي) (see *Tadhkirah* 49).

5. Ilāhdād Jawnpūrī (932/1525).

He was the pupil both of 'Abd Allāh Tulanbī and 'Abd al-Malik 'Ādil Jawnpūrī who himself was a pupil of Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī, the well-known *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt* of Jawnpūr in the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

[1. Akhbār 191, 2. Ṭabaqāt 128, 3. Ma'āthir 192, 4. Subḥah 43, 5. Abjad 894, 6. Ḥadā'iq 364, 7. Tajallī 39, 8. Tadhkirah 25, 9. Maḥbūb 376, 10. Āzād 19.].

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Madārik al-tanzīl* (حاشية على مدارك التنزيل) (Sūrahs i—xiii 37): India Office 1137.

6. Khaṭīb Abu 'l Faḍl Gāzarūnī Gujarātī (959/1551).

He was a pupil of Mullā Jalālu 'd-Dīn Dawwānī and also of Muḥyī al-Dīn who was an eminent pupil of the celebrated Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī. He was attracted to India by the Kings of Gujarat. He was one of the teachers of Shaykh Mubārak, the father of the well-known brothers Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī and Abu 'l-Faḍl.

[1. Ā'īn ii 261, 2. Ṭabaqāt 169 b, 3. Nuhāt 119]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية على تفسير البيضاوي): Peshāwar 48, Rāmpūr 27.

7. 'Alī Muttaqī b. Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn of Burhānpūr (975/1567).

He was a celebrated Indian saint and scholar who was born at Burhānpūr in 885, settled eventually at Mecca and died there.

[1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir under the year 975, 2. Akhbār 248, 3. Zād al-muttaqīn folio 183b, 4. Safīnah 191, 5. Ṭabaqāt folio 183b, 6. Ma'āthir 192, 7. Subḥah 43, 8. Abjad 895, 9. Itḥāf 326, 10. Ḥadā'iq 382, 11. Maḥbūb 147, 12. Tadhkirah 146, 13. Āzād 19.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, XI.)

B. *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalāt* (شؤن المنزلات): Delhi 53, India Office 1152.

(*N.B.*—As his *Khalīfah* 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī used to make fair copies of the works of his teacher, this work has been wrongly assigned to him (the pupil). The account of

his, given by his pupil 'Abd al-Ḥaqq in his *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, mentions no works of him.)

8. Abū Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Miyānjī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn (982/1574).

He was an eminent scholar and Ṣūfī of Aḥmadābād.

[1. Brockelmann ii 417, 2. Tadhkirah 214].

B. *Al-Tafsīr al-Muḥammadī* also entitled *Kāshif al-Ḥaqā'iq wa qāmūs al-daqā'iq* (التفسير المحمدي المسمي به كاشف الحقايق و قاموس الدقايق): Loth 103, Bengal A. e. 20, Pīr Muḥd. Sh. Library.

9. Wajīhu 'd-Dīn al-'Alawī of Gujarāt (998/1589).

He was both a saint and scholar who was born in 911 at Japānīr, a village in Gujarāt. He was a pupil of Mullā 'Imād Ṭāramī. He had a great influence over Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. He wrote several works on various branches of Islāmic learning.

[1. Akhbār 159, 2. Badā'ūnī iii 43, 3. Ṭabaqāt 202b, 4. Safīnah 193, 5. Ma'āthir 196, 6. Subḥah 45, 7. Abjad 896, 8. Ḥadā'iq 388, 9. Tadhkirah 249, 10. Āzād 27.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, VII, IX.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه علي تفسير البيضاوي): Āṣafiyyah iv 210.

10. Shaykh Mubārak b. Shaykh Khiḍr (1001/1593.)

Shaykh Mubārak, the father of the celebrated Fayḍī and Abu 'l-Faḍl, was born in 911 at Nāgor. While at Aḥmadābād, he received his education from Khaṭīb Abu 'l-Faḍl Gāzarūnī and Mullā 'Imād Ṭāramī.

[1. Ā'īn ii 26, 2. Badā'ūnī iii 73, 3. Ṭabaqāt 210b, 4. Ma'āthir 197, 5. Beale 371, 6. Ḥadā'iq 394, 7. Tadhkirah 174, 8. Qāmūs ii 30.]

C. *Manba' nafā'is al-'ulūm* (منبع نفائس العلوم) according to Badā'ūnī and the Ṭabaqāt but *Manba' 'uyūn al-ma'ānī* (منبع عيون المعاني) according to the Ma'āthir.

11. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī b. Sh. Mubārak (1004/1595).

Fayḍī, the Persian poet-laureate of Akbar's court, was born in 954 at Agra. He received his education from his father.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii 299, 2. Ā'īn iii 218, 3. Ṭabaqāt 247, 4. Ma'āthir al' umarā' ii 584, 5. Ma'āthir 198, 6. Subḥah 45, 7. Beale 125, 8. Abjad 897, 9. Brockelmann ii 417, 10. Tadhkirah 4, 11. Āzād 25, 12. Qāmūs ii 133.]

(For other work of his, see section IV and IX.)

A. *Sawāṭi' al-Ilhām* (سواطع الالہام)
MSS: Leid 1702; Loth 104-5; Cairo i 178 Ḥamīdiyyah 88; Walī al-Dīn 185; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 180; Nūr 'Uthmānī 339; Koprili 113; Dāmād Ibrāhīm 128; Lālah lī 142; Miftāḥ 292. Nadwah (N) 3/2.

12. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf Shūstarī (1019/1610).

He was an eminent scholar of Persia and through the good services of Ḥakīm Abu' l-Fatḥ, he entered the service of Akbar who appointed him *qāḍī* at Lahore. He was a zealous Shī'ah. He wrote several works, of which the *Majālis 'l-mu'minīn* in Persian is the best known.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii 137, 2. Ṭabaqāt 219, 3. Beale 306, 4. Nujūm 9, (Page 16 contains a list of his works.) 5. Tadhkirah 246, 6. Qāmūs ii 270.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, VI, IX.)

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية على تفسير البيضاوى): Miftāḥ 268; Bengal, ii 285; Peshāwar 37.

ii. *Kashf al-'awār fī tafsīr āyat al-ghār* (كشف العوار فى تفسير آيت الغار): Bengal ii 821.

iii. *Mūnis al-waḥīd* (مونس الوحيد): Ibid 1029.

iv. *Al-Saḥāb al-maṭīr fī tafsīr āyat al-taṭhīr* (السحاب المطير فى تفسير آية التطهير), a commentary on the verse ix, 28 : Ibid 484.

C. i. *Tafsīr āyah wa kadhālika ja'alnākum ummat* (تفسير آية و كذالك جعلناكم امة), a commentary on the verse ii, 143: Kashf al-Ḥujub

ii. *Tafsīr āyat al-ru'yā* (تفسير آية الرويا): Ibid.

13. Mirzā Badī' al-Zamān, entitled Rashīd Khān (during Jahāngīr's reign: 1014-1037/1605-1628).

B. *Badī'u 'l-madārik* (بديع المدارك في تخريج آيات): 'Alīgarh 94.

14. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, known as 'Abd al-Nabī Shaṭṭārī (date of composition: 1020/1611.)

He was a disciple of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Ṣūfī Shaṭṭārī of Agra. He wrote many works on various topics. The date of his death is not known. At the end of his book *Fawātiḥ al-anwār*, he says that he has completed it in 1020. This shows that he was living upto that year.

[Tadhkirah 135]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VI, IX, X.)

C. *Dastūru 'l-Muṣannifīn* (دستور المصنفين): Ibid.

15. Abū Bakr Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūsī of Aḥmadābād (1038/1628).

His ancestors had emigrated from Yaman and Ḥadramawt to India. He was born in 978 at Aḥmadābād. He was an eminent scholar and Ṣūfī and composed many works, all in Arabic.

[1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir, folio 117, (Autobiography), 2. Muḥibbī ii 440, 3. Ḥadā'iq 496, 4. Tadhkirah 129, 5. Al-fawā'id 36 (margine), 6. Wüestenfeld No. 556, 7. Brockelmann ii 419.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V, VIII, X.)

B. *Al-Fatḥ al-qudsī fī tafsīr āyat al-kursī* (الفتح القدسي في تفسير آية الكرسي), a commentary on the verse ii, 256: Būhār No. 457 iv.

16. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī b. Sayf al-Dīn of Delhi (1052/1642).

He was a descendant of one of Amīr Tīmūr's followers who had remained at Delhi. He was born in 958. He was a great *Mohadith* in India. He wrote works on many subjects both in Persian and Arabic.

[1. Akhbār 300 (Autobiography), 2. Badā'ūnī iii 113, 3. Ṭabaqāt 299, 4. Ma'ā.hir 200, 5. Subḥah 52, 6. Abjad 900, 7. Itḥāf 303, 8. Ḥadā'iq 409, 9. Tadhkirah 108, 10 Elliot 175, 11. Beale 3, 12. Encyclo. Islām i 39, 13. Qāmūs ii 57.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VI, VIII.)

B. *Sharḥ al-qaṣīdat al-jazariyyah* (شرح القصيدة الجزرية): Peshāwar 1092.

17. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

He was a descendant of the celebrated Indian Saint Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shakarganj. He was born in 996 at Ṣadrpūr, a village in Oudh. He was an eminent pupil of Mullā 'Abd al-Salām Lāhorī and a class-fellow of Sa'd Allāh Khān, the clebrated minister to Shāh-jahān. He was a great scholar and eminent Ṣūfī who closely followed the philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī and expounded his ideas so much so that in India he won the title of Ibn 'Arabī of India'.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 412, 2 Tadhkirah 175, 3. Maḥbūb 375, 4. Dhikr al-ma'ārif (His biography by Shawkat Ḥusayn, Allahabad 1928) 5. Qāmūs ii 176.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI.)

B. i. *Tarjamat al-Kitāb* (ترجمة الكتاب): Delhi 275, India Office 1369.

ii. *Ḥāshiyat tarjamat al-kitāb* (حاشية ترجمة الكتاب): Delhi 1790, India Office 1357.

18. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656).

He was born in 968. He was a pupil of Kamālu 'd-Dīn

Kashmīrī. He was an eminent theologian, well versed in all the branches of Islamic learning. Shāh-jahān had a high regard for him. He wrote several books the reputation of which spread far and wide in his life time.

[1. Ṭabaqāt 306, 2. Farḥat 740, 3. Ma'āthir 204, 4. Subḥah 66, 5. Muḥibbī ii 318, 6. Abjad 902, 7. Ḥadā'iq 414, 8. Beale 4, 9. Maḥbūb 174, 10. Ṭarab al-amāthil 252, 11. Tadhkirah 110, 12. Brockelmann ii 417, 13. Āzād 36, 14. Qāmūs ii 57.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI, IX.)

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā-tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه علے تفسير البيضاوی):

MSS.—Āṣafiyyah 542-4; Rāmpūr 28; Bengal i p. 4; Būhār 6; Loth 90, 91; Peshāwar 42; Princeton 208; India Office 1122; about 20 of the Constantinople catalogues (see India Office 1122).

B. *Ḥāshiyah al-Kashshāf* (حاشية الكشاف): Rāmpūr 31.

19. 'Abd al-Salām of Dīwah (during Shāh-jahān's reign).

He was a pupil of his namesake 'Abd al-Salām of Lahore. Shāh-jahān appointed him *Muftī* in the royal camp.

[1. Ṭabaqāt 309, 2. Ma'āthir 235.]

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

C. *Ḥāshiya 'alā-Tafsir al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه علي تفسير البيضاوی): Ma'āthir 236.

20. Shāh 'Abd Allāh, commonly called Jalabī Ṣāḥib (Composed in 1070/1659).

Concerning him, nothing is known. He dedicated his work to Awrangzīb.

B. *Farīdat al-zamānah fī tafsīr āyah inna 'araḍna 'l-amānah* (فريدة الزمانة تفسير آيه انا عرضنا الامانة) (a commentary on the verse xxxiii 72): India Office 1156.

21. Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi (1073/1662.) He was a pupil of his father and a disciple of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Mujaddidī. He was a *qāḍī* at Agra in the time of Shāh-jahān.

[1. Ṭabaqāt 310, 2. Farḥat xiv 58, 3. Ma'āthir 201, 4. Subḥah 53, 5. Abjad 901, 6. Itḥāf 426, 7. Ḥadā'iq 418, 8. Beale 306, 9. Rieu Pers. p. 224, 10. Tadhkirah 246, 11. Ency. Islām i 971, 12. Āzād 33.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah* (تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Bengal ii 204.

22. Muḥammad 'Ali Karbalā'ī (dedicated his work to Sultān 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh of Golconda-1035-1083).

He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ibn Khātūn al-'Āmilī who was minister to 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh.

[See Storey No. 84.]

B. *Hādiyah-i-Quṭb Shāhī* (هادية قطب شاهي): Ibid.

23. Shāh 'Īsā Jund Allāh of Burhānpūr (11th century.)

He was a scholar and ṣūfī of Burhānpūr.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 404, 2. Tadhkirah 153.]

C. *Anwār al-asrār* (انوار الاسرار): Ibid.

24. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Laṭif b. Sh. Jamāl al-*Nahrwālī* (11th century A.H.)

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

C. i. *Al-Jāmi' al-'ilmī* (الجامع العلمي): (See Bānkīpūr 1262.)

ii. *Al-Nūr al-azhar* (النور الازهر): Ibid.

25. Ismā'il b. Sayyid Ja'far *al-Thānī* (11th century A. H.)

B. *Al-Risālah fi 'l-qirā'at,* (الرسالة في القراءات): Bānkīpūr 1262.

26. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbūh (11th century A. H.)

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, VI, IX.)

B. *Al-Risālah fī tafsīr sūrah al-Fātiḥah* (الرسالة في تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Bānkīpūr 1779, iii.

27. Jalāl b. Naṣīr Chanābī (11th century A. H.)
(For an other work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشية على تفسير البيضاوي): India Office 1119.

28. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (11th century.)

He was one of the eminent scholars of Awrangzīb's time.

[Swāniḥāt-i-'umr-i-'Abd al-Ḥakīm by Muḥammad al-Dīn p. 40.]

B. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Fātiḥah* (تفسير سورة الفاتحة): Rāmpūr 25.

29. Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid b. Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam Harawī Kābulī Hindī (1101/1689).

He was one of the great scholars of his time. He served both Shāh-jahān and Awrangzīb in various capacities. In the end the latter appointed him *Sadr* at Kābul. He was chiefly interested in philosophical and scholastic studies. His books are highly esteemed in India.

[1. Farḥat (Oriental Magazine of Lahore xiv 80), 2. Ma'āthir 206, 3. Subḥah 67, 4. Abjad 902, 5. Ḥadā'iq 428, 6. Tadhkirah 187, 7. Āzād 38, 8. Qāmūs ii 191.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

B. *Tafsīr-i-zāhidī* from Sūrah xvii upto the end (تفسير زاهدي): 'Alīgarh 96.

30. Muḥammad Kāshif Ḥanafī (composed in 1101/1689.)

B. *Al-Mūḍiḥ al-faṣīḥ fī tafsīr sūrah yūsuf* (الموضح الفصيح في تفسير سورة يوسف): Loth 1036 vii.

31. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu 'l-Majd Maḥbūb 'Ālam b. S. Ja'far of Aḥmadābād (1111/1699.)

He was one of the eminent saints and scholars of Aḥmadābād. He was born in 1047.

[Tadhkira 214].

(For an other work of his, see section II.)

C. A commentary on the *Qur'ān* (just like al-Jalālayn). (تفسير الة لي) : Ibid.

32. Mustafā b. Muhammad Sa'īd, entitled Muqarrab Khān (in Awrangzīb's time).

See Storey No. 85.

A. *Nujūm al-furqān* (نجوم الفرقان) : Lithographed with an Arabic version of the Author's Persian introduction at Madras.

B. i. *Amārāt kalām al-Rahmān* (امارات كلام الرحمن) : See Storey No. 85 (2), Nadhīr Ahmad 16.

ii. *Aqsām āyāt al-qur'ān* (اقسام آيات القران) (A classified list of the subjects of the Qur'ān) Stewart p. 173.

33. Nāsir b. Husayn al-Hasanī al-Husaynī (Awrangzib's time).

B. *Al-Jadāwil al-nūriyyah fī istikhrāj al-āyāt al-qur'āniyyah* (الجداول النورية في استخراج الايات القرانية): India Office 1212.

34. Muhammad Fadl Allāh, son of the daughter of 'Abd al-Hakīm Siyāl-kūtī (completed the work in 1114/1703).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā tafsīr al-Fātihah li'l-Siyālkūtī* (حاشية على تفسير الفاتحة السيالكوتي) : India Office 1162.

35. Ahmad b. Muhammad Qāsim b. Muhammad Nadhīr al-Quhunduzī (Bahādur Shāh's reign 1119-1124/-1707-1712 .

He was a member of the retinue of Bahādur Shāh. (see India Office 1163).

B. *Majma' al-ta'wīl fī asrār al-tanzīl* (مجمع التاويل في اسرار التنزيل): Ibid.

36. Shaykh Ghulām Naqshband b. 'Atā' Allāh Lakhnawī (1126/1714).

He was a pupil of Mīr Muḥd. Shafī' Dihlawī and the teacher of Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh had a high regard for him.

[1. Ma'āthir 213, 2. Subḥah 79, 3. Abjad 906, 4. Ḥadā'iq 435, 5. Tadhkirah 158, 6. Āzād 45.]

(For an other work of his, see section IX.)

B. *Anwār al-Furqān wa azhār al-Qur'ān* (انوار الفرقان و ازهار القران): Nadhīr Aḥmad 126.

37. Aḥmad b. Abū Sa'īd, better known as Mullā Jīwan (1130/1717).

He was one of the learned teachers of Awrangzīb who had a high regard for his erudite learning.

[1. Ma'āthir 216, 2. Abjad 907, 3. Ḥadā'iq 436, 4. Beale 371, 5. Tadhkirah 45, 6. Maḥbūb 827, 7. Ency. Islām (Under Djīwan), 8. Āzād 46, 9. Qāmūs ii 722.]

(For an other work of his, see section III.)

A. *Al-Tafsīrāt al-Aḥmādiyyah fī bayān al-Āyāt al-Shar'iyyah.* (التفسرات الاحمديه فى بيان الآيات الشرعيه) MSS. India Office 1160 ; Bengal A. a. 1; Loth 116 ; Āṣafiyyah i 532 ; Rāmpūr 24.

38. Ḥāfiẓ Amān Allāh of Benāres b. Nūr Allāh (1133/1720).

He was an eminent scholar and the author of several books. He was a *qāḍī* at Lucknow during Awrangzīb's time.

[1. Ma'āthir 212, 2. Subḥah 78, 3. Abjad 906, 4. Beale 69, 5. Tadhkirah 27, 6. Azād 44.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI..)

C. *Ḥāshiyat tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه على تفسير البيضاوى)

39. 'Alī Aṣghar b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad Qannawjī (1140/1727.)

He was one of the eminent scholars of Qannawj. He was born in 1051.

[1. Ta'rīkh-i-Farrukhābād folio 161b, 2, Abjad 930, 3. Ḥdā'iq 438, 4. Tadhkirah 141.]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, XI.)

B. *Thawāqib al-tanzīl fī ishārāt al-Ta'wīl* (ثواقب التنزيل في اشارات التاويل): Rāmpūr 26.

40. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

He was born in 1063 and was one of the well-known scholars of Aḥmadābad. He wrote several works on various topics.

[1. Ma'āthir 219, 2. Subḥah 94, 3. Abjad 911, 4. Itḥāf 427, 5. Ḥadā'iq 445, 6. Tadhkirah 247.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VI, IX.)

B. *Al-Tafsīr al-Nūrānī li 'l-Sab' al-mathānī* (التفسير النوراني لسبع المثاني): Pīr Muḥd. Shāh Library.

C. i. *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Baqarah*, entitled *al-Tafsīr al-Rabbānī* (التفسير الرباني): Ma'āthir 219.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه علي تفسير البيضاوي): Ibid.

41. Muḥammad 'Ābid Lāhorī (1160/1747).

[1. Ḥadā'iq 444, 2. Tadhkirah 201.]

(For an other work of his, see section X.)

C. *Ḥāshiyat Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه تفسير البيضاوي): Tadhkirah 201.

42. Mullā Ḥāmid b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Jawnpūr (1173/1759). Tajalliy-i-nūr 93.

B. *Ḥāshiyat Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* (حاشيه تفسير البيضاوي): Būhār 8.

43. Muḥd. Hāshim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr al-Tattawī (1174/1760).

He was a pupil of Makhdūm Ḍiyā'u 'd-Dīn. Nādir Shāh Durrānī and Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī held him in high esteem.

[1. Maḥbūb 159, 2. Tadhkirah 253.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

B. *Jannatu 'l-Na'īm fī faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (جنات النعيم فى فضايل القران): Miftāḥ 257.

44. Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called Shāh Walī Allāh, b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For a short account of his life, refer to p. 19 *Supra*.)

[1. His autobiography in *J.A.S.B.* for 1912, pp. 161-75, 2 Abjad 912, 3. Itḥāf 428, 4. Ḥadā'iq 447, 5. His biography, Ḥayāt-Walī by Muḥammad Raḥīm Bakhsh, 6. Brockelmann ii 418, 7. Tadhkirah 250, 8. Ency. Isl. i, 971, 9. Qāmūs ii 299.

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, X, XI).

A. i. *Al fawz al-kabīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* (الفوز الكبير في اصول التفسير) MS.: Delhi 279.

ii. *Fatḥ al-khabīr bimā labudd min ḥifẓihī fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* (فتح الخبير بما لابد من حفظه في علم التفسير)

MSS. see Brockelmann ii 418, Āṣafiyyah i 550.

45. Rustam 'Alī b. 'Alī Aṣghar Qannawji (1178/1764). He got his education from his father and Mullā Niẓāmu 'd-Din Sihālwī.

[1. Ta'rīkh-i-Farrukhābād folio 16b, 2. Tadhkirah 63, 3. Qāmūs i 260.]

(For other work of his, see section III.)

C. *Tafsīr-i-ṣaghīr* (تفسير صغير): Tadhkirah.

46. Muḥammad 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-mutakhalliṣ bi Ḥazīn (1183/1769).

He was born in 1104/1692 at Iṣfahān. During the invasion by the Afghans he had to leave for India where he finally settled at Benares. He was a good scholar and a prolific writer. His reputation chiefly lies in his Persian works but he wrote many books in Arabic also.

[1. His autobiography, Tadhkirah-i-Ḥazīn, 2. Nujūm 283, 3. Qāmūs i 200.]

C. i. *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ li ba'ḍ al-suwar wa 'l-āyāt* (كتاب الخواص لبعض السور و الآيات)

ii. *Kitāb Shajarāt al-nūr fī sharḥ āyat al-nūr* (كتاب شجرات النور في شرح آية النور)

iii. *Kitāb tajwīd al Qur'ān* (كتاب تجويد القرآن)

(N. B.—The Nujūm p. 287 contains a list of about 80 Arabic works quoted from some of his own works.)

47. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd. b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abdu 'l-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Ḥanafī (1205/1791.)

He was born in 1145 at Bilgrām. Having completed his early education in India, he left for Yaman for higher studies. He studied with the eminent scholars of Zabīd, Ḥijāz and Egypt, and his reputation as a great scholar spread far and wide. He was a prolific writer who wrote many works on various subjects, of which the Tāju 'l-'urūs (شرح القاموس) and Itḥāf (شرح احياء العلوم) are most important.

[1. 'Ajā'ibu 'l-āthār by Jabartī, 2. Tāju 'l-'urūs vol. i 970, 3. Itḥāf 407, 4. Abjad 708, 5. Ḥadā'iq 459, 6. Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyyah iii 94, 7. Brockelmann ii 287, 8. Tadhkirah 224, 9. Jurjī Zaydān iii 288, 10. An article by Manāẓir Aḥsan (in the *Ma'ārif* of A'ẓamgarh, vol. xix No. 2, 11. Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl p. 21 (foot-note.)

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, IX.)

C. i. *Tafsīr surah yūnus* (تفسير سورة يونس) : Tadhkirah.

ii. *Manḥu 'l-fuyūḍāti 'l-wāfiyyah fi-mā fi Sūrati 'l-Raḥmān mina 'l-asrāri 'l-Ilāhiyyah* : (مانح الفيوضات الوافيه فى ما سورة الرحمن من الاسرار الالهيه)

48. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ Qannawjī (1223/1808).

He was the son of Mawlawī Rustam 'Alī Qannawjī, already mentioned, (see No. 44).

[1. Itḥāf 309, 2. Ḥadā'iq 464, 3. Tadhkirah 107, Beale 3.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, VII, IX.)

C. i. *Tafsīr Dhu 'l-fiqār Khānī* (تفسیر ذو الفقار خانی): Tadhkirah 107.

ii. *Risālah 'Ajību 'l-bayān fī 'ulūm tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (رسالہ عجیب البیان فی علوم تفسیر القرآن): Ibid.

49. Ghulām Aḥmad, *Qāḍī* of Seringapatam, and Sayyid 'Alī, *Qāḍī* (jointly compiled in 1223/1808).

(See Storey No. 86.)

B. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* (جواهر القرآن) an index to the verses of the *Qur'ān*: Ethe 2709; Ivanow 979, 980.

50. *Qāḍī* Thanā' Allāh of Pānīpat (1225/1810).

For a short note of his life refer to p. 17 *Supra.*

[1. Itḥāf 240, 2. Ḥadā'iq 465, 3, Beale 351, 4. Tadhkirah 38, 5. Qāmūs i 164.]

(For an other work of his, see section V.)

A. *Tafsīr i-Maẓharī* (تفسیر مظهری)

MS. Rāmpūr p. 26 (only a portion).

51. Salām Allāh Rāmpūrī b. Shaykh al-Islām (1229-1813).

He was an eminent *Muḥaddith* at Rāmpūr and a descendant of Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi.

[1. Abjad 927, 2. Tadhkirah 76.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV.)

A. *Al-Kamālayn ḥāshiyat al-Jalālayn* (الكمالين حاشية الجلالين)

MS.: Delhi 31.

52. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allah of Delhi (1239/1828).

He was born in 1151 at Delhi. He completed his education under his learned father. He was a great scholar and a prolific writer who wrote on various topics both in Arabic and Persian.

[1. Āthāru 'l-Sanādīd (by Sir Sayyīd Aḥmad Khān iv 69, 2. Itḥāf 296, 3. Abjad 914, 4. Ḥadā'iq 470, 5. Kamālāt-i-'Azīzī, a biography by Nawwāb Mubārak 'Alī Khān, 6. Tadhkirah 122.]

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI.)

B. *Muqaddimah Tafsīr Fatḥ al-'Azīz* (مقدمة تفسير فتح العزيز): Rāmpūr 43.

53. Muḥammad Ashraf b. *Qāḍī* Ni'mat Allāh Lakhnawī (1244/1828).

His ancestors had emigrated from Lahore to Lucknow. He was the author of some works.

[Tadhkirah 180.]

C. *A Commentary on the Qur'ān* (تفسير القرآن): Ibid.

54. Shāh Muḥammad Rafī' al-Dīn (1249/1833). He was the second son of Shāh Walī Allāh.

[1. Abjad 914, 2. Ḥadā'iq 469, 3. Tadhkirah 66, 4. Maḥbūb 320.]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, X, XI.)

B. *Tafsīr āyat al-Nūr* (تفسير آية النور) (xxiv 35): India Office 1169.

55. Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrābādī (1271/1854).

He was a Shī'ah scholar.

[Kashfu 'l-ḥujub p. 5 preface.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

C. *Risālah fi Taḥqīq ma'nā In shā' Allāh* (رسالة في تحقيق معنى إن شاء الله): Ibid.

SECTION II

ḤADĪTH LITERATURE

1. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī (650/1252).

His ancestors belonged to Ṣaghān, (also called Ṣāghān), a town in Transoxania. His father emigrated to Lahore where he was born in 577. Having completed his education under his father who was an eminent theologian and great scholar, he left for Baghdād in 615 and then he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 617 the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) sent him as an ambassador to the court of Iltutmish, the Slave King of Delhi. He returned to Baghdād in 624. He was sent back again in the same capacity to the court of Delhi where he stayed upto 637. Then he left for Baghdād where he died in 650. He was both a philologist and traditionist of repute. He was the author of many works.

[1. Yāqūti's Mu'jam al-udabā' vol. iii 211, 2. Ibn Shākir's Fawāt al-wafayāt i 133, 3. Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā's Jawāhiru 'l-Muḍī'ah i 201, 4. Ibn Quṭlūbughā's Tāj al-trājim 17, 5. Suyūṭi's Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt 227, 6. Ṭāsh oprīzādah's Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādat ii 98, 7. Ma'āthir 180, 8. Subḥah 28, 9. Itḥāf 248, 10. Abjad 890, 11. Ḥadā'iq 253, 12. Wüestenfeld 336, 13. Brockelmann i 360, 14. Fawā'id 48, 15. Jurjī Zaydān iii 49, 16. Khayru 'd-Dīn's A'lām i 239, 17. Āzād 7.]

(For other works of his, see sections IX, XI.)

A. *Al-Mashāriq al-anwār al nabawiyyah min Siḥāḥ al-akhbār al-muṣṭafawiyyah,* (المشارق الانوار النبويه من صحاح الاخبار المصطفويه)

MSS.: Berlin 1322; Paris 737; Bri. Mus. p. 713 a; Rieu 145; Algiers 476; Yeni 280-4; Cairo i 308; Upsal 394; Rāmpūr 113; Bānkipūr 365; Āṣafiyyah, 673; Delhi 307; Salīm Āghā 234; Kamānkash 57;

Koprili 432; Nūr 'Uthmānī 1232; Sulaymāniyyah 324; Jāmi' Sharīfī 180; Maḥmūd ii 165; Ḥusayn Pāshā 77; 'Āṭif 619; Mihr Shāh 88; Ughlī 177; Yaḥyā 80; Fātiḥ 1153; Lālah lī 653; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 900; Asad Efendī 14; 'Aligarh 97; Nadwah (N) iii.

B. i. *Risālah fi al-Aḥādīth al-mawḍū'ah* (الرسالة في الاحاديث الموضوعة): Cairo vii 123; Berlin 1630; Sulaymāniyyah 1038; Dāmād Ibrāhīm 336; Khusraw 4; Rāmpūr 120.

ii. *Durr al-saḥābah fi bayān mawāḍi' wafayāt al-ṣaḥābah* (در السحابة في بيان مواضع وفيات الصحابة): Cairo v 52; Berlin 9652.

iii. *Kitāb fi asmā' shuyūkh al-Bukhārī* (كتاب في اسماء شيوخ البخاري): Constantinople, Bashīr Āghā 68.

C. i. *Miṣbāḥ al-dujā min ṣiḥāḥ aḥādīth al-Muṣṭafā* (مصباح الدجى من صحاح احديث المصطفى): Itḥāf 243.

ii. *Al-Shams al-Munīrah* (الشمس المنيرة): Ibid.

iii. *Zubdat al-Manāsik* (زبدة المناسك): Ibid.

iv. *Kitāb darajāt al-'Ilm wa 'l-'Ulamā'* (كتاب درجات العلم و العلماء): Ibid.

v. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (شرح صحيح البخاري): Ibid. p. 55.

2. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Hindī al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī (773/1371).

He was born in 704. Having completed his education under the eminent scholars of Delhi such as Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī, Shamsu 'd-Dīn Khaṭīb and Sirāju 'al-Dīn Thaqafī Dihlawī, he left for Mecca and Madīnah from where he went to Cairo where he was appointed *Qāḍi 'l-Quḍāt* as his reputation as a theologian of the *Ḥanafī* school had spread far and wide. He was the author of many works.

[1. Al-Duraru 'l-kāminah: under "'Umar b. Isḥāq" and osļυ under 'Hindi', 2. Suyūṭī's Ḥusnu 'l-muḥāḍrah i 268, 3. Ḥadā'iq 290, 4. Beale 19, 5. Tadhkirah 151, 6. Brockelmann 'ii 220, 7. Fawā'id 60, 8. Ṭaraba 'l-amāthil 259, 9. Nuzhat 95.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV, V, IX.)

B. i. *Sharḥ al-arbaʻīn* (شرح الاربعين): Bengal ii 514.

ii. *Tawḍīḥ Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī* (توضيح شرح صحيح البخاري): Āṣafiyyah iv 248.

3. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Shihābu 'd-Dīn al-Hamadhānī (786/1384).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. i. *Al-Sabʻīn fī Faḍā'il Amīri 'l-mu'minīn* (السبعين في فضائل امير المؤمنين): British Mus. 890 ii.

ii. *Arbaʻīn amīriyyah* (اربعين اميرية): Ibid 890 iii.

iii. *Mawaddatu 'l-qurbā* (مودة القربى): Āṣafiyyah iii 268.

4. Badru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, called Ibn al-Damāmīnī (827-1424).

He was a native of Egypt, but during the latter part of his life, he came to India, where he composed some works which he dedicated either to the great Aḥmad Shāh of Gujarāt (814/1411-846/1443) or to Aḥmad Shāh I of the Bahmanī House (825/1421-838/1435). He had also written several works before he came to India; but in the present list only those works of his are included which he composed while he was in India.

[1. Suyūṭī's Bughyatu 'l-wuʻāt folio 156, 2 His Ḥusnu 'l-muḥāḍrah i 311, 3. Khalīfah vi 419, 4. Loth 964, 5. Brockelmann ii 26, 6. Nuḥāt 118.]

(For other works of his, see section IX.)

C. ***Maṣābīḥu 'l-Jāmiʻ fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi 'l-Bukhārī*** (مصابيح الجامع في شرح صحيح البخاري): Itḥāf 53.

5. Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī Zaydpūrī (968/1560).

His ancestors belonged to Zaydpūr, a village near Jawnpūr, but later on they emigrated to the Deccan where he was born and completed his education. About the end of his life he went to Delhi on the invitation of Muḥammad Bayrām Khān Khān-i-Khanān.

[1. Akhbār 245, 2. Ṭabaqāt 182b, 3. Ḥadā'iq 375, 4. Tajallī ii 43, 5. Tadhkirah 106.]

(For other works of his, see section III.)

C. *Fayḍu 'l-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi 'l-Bukhārī* (فيض الباری في شرح صحيح البخاری) : Itḥāf 56.

6. 'Alī Muttaqī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn of Burhānpūr (975/1557).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, XI.)

A. i. *Kanzu 'l-'ummāl* (كنز العمال) MSS. : Bānkīpūr 427, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1199-1203, Āṣafiyyah i 660. MSS. of parts :

a. *Manhaju 'l-'ummāl* (منهج العمال): Bānkīpūr 425, 'Āṭif 636, 'Āshir 270, Walī al-Dīn 856, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1275, 'Alīgarh 102, Āṣafiyyah i 678.

b. *Al-Ikmāl li manhaji 'l-'ummāl* (الاكمال لمنهج العمال) : Koprīlī 249, Nūr 'Uthmānī 674, Dāmād zādah 341. Āyā Ṣūfīyah 458.

ii. *Muntakhab kanz al-'ummāl* (منتخب كنز العمال) : (printed at Cairo on the margin of the Musnad of Imām Ḥanbal).

MSS. Bānkīpūr 428, Nūr 'Uthmānī 1272.

B. i. *Al-Fuṣūl sharḥ jāmi' al-uṣūl* (الفصول شرح جامع الاصول) : Bānkīpūr 225.

ii. *Shamā'ilu 'l-nabī* (شمائل النبي) : Peshāwar 439, 'Alīgarh 99.

iii. *Al-Burhān fī 'alāmāt Mahdī ākhiri'z zamān* (البرهان في علامات مهدی آخر الزمان): Delhi 121, Loth 1031 ii, Berlin 2726-30, Alger 857, Āṣafiyyah iii 260, iv 238.

7. Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir of Pattan (986/1578).

He was born at Nahrwāla in Gujarāt in 914. After completing his education, he went to the Ḥijāz where he attended the lectures of the eminent scholars of that country and became a disciple of 'Alī Muttaqī. Then he returned to his native country where he took up the cause of spreading the *sunnah* among, and removing *bid'ah* (innovation) from, his own people so much so that he was at last killed by a follower of the *Ismā'īliyyah* sect.

[1. Al-Nūr al-sāfir, under the year 986, 2. Akhbār 272, 3. Ma'āthir 219, 4. Subḥah 43, 5 Itḥāf 397, 6 Abjad 895, 7. Ḥadāiq 265, 8. Broekelmann ii 416, 9. Tadhkirah 196, 10. Al-fawā' id al bahiyyah 67, (on margin), 11. Maḥbūb 385]

A. i *Majma' biḥār al-anwār fī gharā'ib al-tanzīl wa laṭā'if al-akhbār* (مجمع بحار انوار في غرائب التنزيل و لطائف الاخبار):
MSS: Bānkipūr 001-2, 1688-9; Loth 1023, Nadwah (N) 135, Calcutta lxxx.

ii. *Tadhkirat al-mawḍū'āt* (تذكرة الموضوعات)
MSS. Bengal A. b. 18; Āṣafiyyah i 616, Būhār 47; Delhi 161; Bānkīpūr 315.

iii. *Al-Mughnī fī ḍabṭ asmā' al-rijāl* (المغني في ضبط اسماء الرجال):
MSS. Bānkīpūr 731; Āṣafiyyah i 788, iii 350; Būhār 242.

iv. *Qānūn al-mawḍū'āt fī dhikr al-ḍu'afā' wa 'l-waḍḍā'īn* (قانون الموضوعات في ذكر الضعفاء و الوضاعين)

B. i *Asmā' al-rijāl* (اسماء الرجال): Bānkīpūr xii 730; Rāmpūr 134.

ii. *Risālah fī lughāt al-Mishkāt* (رسالة في لغات المشكاة): Bengal C. 7.

8. Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ma'barī (after 991/-1583).

Of him very little is known except that he belonged to a learned family of Mālābār, that he was in the service of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and that he was the author of some works, the most important of which is the *Tuḥfatu 'l-mujāhidīn.*

[1. Akhbār al-akhyār 268 (about his father) and also al-Sanā' at bāhir, folio 232 (about his father). 2. Brockelmann ii 416, 3. Jurjī Zaydān iii 314, 4 David Lope's Introduction to his translation of the Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, VIII.)

A. *Kitāb mutaḍammin al-aḥādīth wa 'l-āthār al-muta'alliqah bi al-mawt wa mā ba'duh* (كتاب متضمن الاحاديث و الآثار المتعلقة بالموت ، ما بعده).

9. Wajīh al-Dīn Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VII, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ sharḥ nukhbat al-fikar* (شرح شرح نخبة الفكر): Rāmpūr 127.

10. Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Muftī (compiled in 1015/1606).

See Bānkīpūr 285.

B. *Sharḥ arba'īn al-nawawī* (شرح أربعين النووي): Ibid.

11. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Shustarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Sharḥ muqaddimat al-maṣābīḥ fī al-aḥādīth* (شرح مقدمة المصابيح في الاحاديث): Kashf al-ḥujub.

ii. *Ḥāshiyat tahdhīb al-aḥkām fī al-aḥādīth* (حاشية تهذيب الاحكام في الاحاديث): Ibid.

12. 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif 'Uthmānī, called 'Abd al-Nabī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sharh nukhbat al-fikar* (شرح نخبة الفكر) : Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Sharh al-Mishkāt* (شرح المشكاة) : Ibid.

iii. *Sharh Hadith "kuntu kanzā"* (شرح حديث : كنت كنزا) : Ibid.

iv. *Sharh Hadith "al-Salāt mi'raj al-mu'minīn"* (شرح حديث الصلوة معراج المومنين) : Ibid.

13. Al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Shadqam al-Husaynī al-Madanī (1046/1636).

Originally a resident of Madīnah, he lived at Ahmadnagar and in Mālābār.

[1. Sulāfat al-'aṣr 249, 2. Muḥibbī ii 23, 3. Brockelmann ii 416, 4. Nujūm 41, 5. Jurjī Zaydān iii 315.]

(For an other work of his, see section VIII.)

C. *Al-Jawāhir al-niẓāmiyyah min hadith khayr al-bariyyah* (الجواهر النظامية من حديث خير البرية) Nujūm 41.

14. 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqī Muhaddith of Delhi (1052/-1642.)

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, VIII.)

A. i. *Muqaddimat al-mishkāt* (مقدمة المشكاة)

ii. *Māthabat bi 'l-sunnah fī ayyam al-sanah* (ماثبت بالسنة في ايام السنة)

MSS.: Rāmpūr 197; Delhi 275; Bānkīpūr 404.

B. i. *Lam'āt al tanqīh 'alā Mishkāt al-maṣābīh* (لمعات التنقيح على مشكاة المصابيح) : Bānkīpūr 361, Rāmpūr 107; Delhi 171; Bengal A. b. 57; Aṣafiyyah 664.

ii. *Al-Ikmāl fī asmā' al-rijāl* (الاكمال في اسماء الرجال) : Delhi 105; Bānkīpūr 732.

iii. *Tahqīq al-ishārah fī ta'mīm al-bishārah.* (تحقيق الاشارة في تعميم البشارة) : Delhi 126.

15. Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (1073/1662). (For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ shamā'il Tirmidhī* (شرح شمائل ترمذي): Rāmpūr 90.

16. 'Abdu 's-Ṣamad b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm (d. about the end of 11th century A. H.)

He was a pupil of Wajīhu 'd-Dīn of Gujarāt.

B. *Al-Fawā'id al-shamsiyyah fi 'l-aḥādīthi 'l-nabawiyyah* (الفوائد الشمسية في الاحاديث النبوية): Āṣafiyyah, iv 254.

17. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbūh (11th century A.H). (For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI, IX).

B. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في اصول الحديث): Bānkīpūr 1779, ix.

18. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu 'l-Majd Maḥbūb 'Ālam Ja'far Aḥmadābādī (1111/1699).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Zīnatu 'l-nikāt fī sharḥ al-Mishkāt* (زينة النكات في شرح المشكاة): Tadhkirah 214.

19. Mullā Taqī b. Shāh Muḥammad Lāhūrī (dedicated his work to Farrukh Siyar: 1124-31/1713-1719).

See Bānkīpūr 457.

B. *Zubdat al-anẓār, sharḥ nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikar* (زبدة الانظار شرح نزهة النظر في توضيح نخبة الفكر): Ibid.

20. Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Sindī (1138/1725).

He was a teacher of Muḥammad Ḥayāt, an eminent *muḥaddith* of Sind and a teacher of Ghulām 'Alī Āzād. He lived at Madīnah for a long time, where he earned a name for his piety and learning.

[Murādī iv 66]

(For another work of his, see section III.)

A. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Bukhārī* (حاشية علي البخاري): MS. Cairo i 331.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sunan al-Nisā'ī* (حاشيه على سنن النسائي) :
See Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt 1057.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sunan ibn Mājah* (حاشيه على سنن ابن ماجه) Ibid.
MS. Cairo i 331.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Muslim* (حاشيه على صحيح المسلم) Cairo i 331.

ii. *Fatḥ al-wadūd, sharḥ Sunan Abī Dā'ūd* (فتح الودود شرح سنن ابى داؤد) : Ibid.

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Musnad Imām Aḥmad* (حاشيه على مسند امام احمد :)
See Murādī iv 66.

21. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1115/1742).
(For other works of his, see section I, III, IV, V, VI, IX.)

C. *Nūr al-Qārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (نور القاري شرح صحيح البخاري) Itḥāf 56.

22. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī 1163/1749).

He was a native of Sind and a member of the Chāchar tribe. While young, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah and settled at the latter. He completed his education under the scholars of the Ḥijāz, especially under Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sindī. His reputation as an erudite scholar soon spread far and wide. Ghulām 'Ālī Āzād met him and attended his lectures when the former went to Madīnah.

[1. Ma'āthir 164, 2. Subḥah 95, 3. Murādī iv 34, 4. Itḥāf 403, 5. Abjad 849. 6. Bānkipūr Cat. No. 286]
(For other works of his, see section V).

B. *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn fī sharḥ al-Arba'īn li'n-Nawawī* (تحفة المحبين في شرح الاربعين النووي): Bānkipūr 286.

23. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IV, V, X, XI.)

A. i. *Hujjat Allāh al-bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة) : MSS. Berlin 1381 ; Cairo i.

ii. *Al-Irshād ilā muhimmāt 'ilm al-isnād* (الارشاد الى مهمات علم الا سناد)

iii. *Al-Arba'īn* (الاربعين) : MS. Rāmpūr 62.

iv. *Al-Durr al-thamīn fī mubashsharāt al-nabiyy al-amīn* (الدر الثمين في مبشرات النبي الا مين) : MS. Delhi 277 iii.

v. *Sharḥ trājim abwāb al-Bukhārī* (شرح تراجم ابواب البخاري) : MSS. Bānkīpūr 178 ; Rāmpūr 10.

vi. *Ta'wīl al-aḥādīth* (تاويل الاحاديث)

vii. *Al-Musawwā sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭā* (المسوى شرح الموطا) : MSS. Bānkīpūr 125 and 126, Peshawar 301, Delhi 64, Rāmpūr 113 ; Āṣafiyyah i 672, Nadwah (N) 50.

B. i. *Al-Nawādir* (النوادر) : Delhi 277/c.

ii. *Al-Faḍlu 'l-mubīn fi 'l-musalsal min ḥadīthi 'n-nabiyyi 'l-amīn* (الفضل المبين في المسلسل من حديث النبي الامين) : Delhi 20, Bānkīpūr, 134.

24. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shaykh Walī Gujrātī (12th century A.H).

B. *Dharī'atu 'l-qabūl ilā haḍrati 'r-Rasūl* (ذريعة القبول الى حضرة الرسول) : Āṣafiyyah iv 244.

25. Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mu'tamad Khān Rustam (12th century).

B. *Nuzul al-abrār* (نزل الابرار) : Delhi 1356.

26. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām (1200/1785).

He was born in 1116/1703-4) at Bilgrām. He received his early education from Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭufayl and then from his maternal grand-father S. 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl. In 1151 he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah where he completed his studies of *Hadīth* under Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sindī and Shaykh

'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb Ṭanṭāwī. On his return to India, he settled at Awrangābād and lived in the Deccan for about 48 years. Niẓāmu 'd-Dawlah Nāṣir Jang had a high regard for him. He was an erudite scholar and a good poet who used to compose verses in both Persian and Arabic. His Arabic *Qaṣā'id* in the praise of the Prophet have won him the title of *Hassānu 'l-Hind.* He is the author of several works in both the languages.

[1. Autobiography in the Ma'āthir, 161=164, 303=311, 2. Autobiography in the Subḥah 113, 3. Itḥāf 530, 4. Abjad 920, 5. Ḥadā'iq 454, 6. Beale 86, 7. Rieu Pers., 8. Tadhkirah 154, 9. Maḥbūb 857. 10. Āzād 66, 11. Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl ii 163—178, 12. Qāmūs i 3, 13, Qāmūsu 'l a'lām 32].

[For other works of his, see sections VIII, XI)

A. *Shammāmatu 'l-'ambar fī ma warada fi 'l-Hind min Sayyidi 'l-bashar* (شمامة العنبر في ما ورد في الهند من سيد البشر): (included in his Subḥatu'l-marjān) MS. Āṣafiyyah iii 258.

B. *Ḍaw'u 'd darārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥi l'-Bukhārī* (ضوء الدراري شرح صحيح البخاري): Nadwah (N) 99

27. Muḥd. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Sindī b. 'Abdu 'l-Qādir (tenth century A. H).*

He was one of the eminent traditionists the country of Sind produced in the tenth century.

[Nuzhat MS.]

A. *Sharḥ Tirmidhī* (شرح ترمذي): In Bri. Mus.

28. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abdu' r-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IV, V, IX).

B. i. *Risālah fī Aḥādith yawm al-'ashūrah* (رسالة في احاديث يوم العاشورة): Cairo vii 209.

* This author by an oversight has been mentioned here his real position being after No. 9.

ii. *Al-Amālī al-Shaykhūniyyah* (الامالي الشيخونيه) Berlin 10255.

iii. *Majma'u 'l-mashā'ikh* (مجمع المشائخ) : 'Ārif.

C. i. *Al-Azhāru 'l-mutanāthirah fī 'l-aḥādīthi 'l-mutawātirah* (الازهار المتناثره في الاحاديث المتواتره) : Abjad 714.

ii. *Darru 'd-dar' fī ḥadīth Umm Zar'* (درالضرع في حديث امزرع) : Ibid.

iii. *Takhrīj ḥadīth Shayyabatnī sūrat Hūd* (تخريج حديث شيبتني سورة هود) : Ibid.

iv. *Al-Mawāhibu 'l-jaliyyah fīmā yata'alluqu bi-ḥadīthi 'l-awwaliyyah* (المواهب الجليه فيما يتعلق بحديث الاوليه) : Ibid.

v. *Al-Mirqāti 'l-'aliyyah fī sharḥ al-ḥadīthi 'l musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyah* (المرقاة العليه في شرح الحديث المسلسل بالاوليه) : Ibid.

vi *Takhrīj ḥadīth ni'm al-idām al-khall* (خريج حديث نعم الادام الخل) : Ibid.

vii. *Al-'Arūsu 'l-majliyyah fī ṭuruq ḥadīthi 'l-awwaliyyah* (العروس المجليه في طرق حديث الاوليه) : Ibid.

viii. *Risālah fī uṣuli 'l-ḥadīth* (رساله في اصول الحديث) : Ibid

ix. *Al-Qawlu 's-ṣaḥīḥ fī marātibi 't-ta'dīl wa 't-tajrīḥ* (القول الصحيح في مراتب التعديل و التجريح) : Ibid.

x. *Al-Taḥbīr fi 'l-ḥadīthi 'l-musalsal bi 't-takbīr* (التحبير في الحديث المسلسل بالتكبير) : Ibid.

29. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ Qannawjī (1225/1810).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, IX).

C. i. *Aaba'īn* (اربعين) : Ithāf 10.

ii. *Sharḥ Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (شرح دلائل الخيرات) :- Ibid.

30. 'Alīmu 'd-Dīn b. Faṣīḥu 'd-Dīn Qannawjī.

He was a pupil of the above mentioned 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ Qannawjī.

[1. Abjad 932, 2. Ḥadā'iq 468, 3 Tadhkirah 148]

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Durarru 'l-faḍā'il fī sharḥi l-shamā'il.* (درر الفضائل في شرح الشمائل) : Abjad 932.

31. Salām Allāh *Muḥaddith* b. Shaykhu l'-Islām 12-29/1813).

(For other works of his, see sections I IV.)

B. *Al-Muḥallā, sharḥ al-Muwattā* (المحلى شرح الموطا): Bānkīpūr 127, Delhi 180, Āṣafiyyah iv 260.

C. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في اصول الحديث) Tadhkirah 77.

32. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'ulūm of Lucknow (1235/-1819).

He was the son of the celebrated Mullā Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī. He was an erudite scholar and voluminous writer. For some time he was in the service of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān at Shāhjahānpūr. On his death, he was invited by Nawwāb Fayḍ Allāh Khān, the ruler of Rāmpūr, who had a high regard for his learning and piety. Then he went to Bihar from where he was finally invited by Nawwāb Muḥd. 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Karnatak, who received him with great respect and built a large college for him where he continued to lecture until his death.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 467, 2 Tadhkirah 123, 3. Beale 2, 4. 'Abdu 'l-Bārī's Ātharu 'l-uwal 24, 5. Encyclo. I lāmi 584, 6. J.B.S.B. (new series ii 694), 7. Franqī, 8. Buhār No. 142, 9. Qāmūs ii 65.]

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV, V, VI, VII.)

B. *Risālah fī Taqsīmi 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في تقسيم الحديث) : Rāmpūr 126.

33. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh (1239/-1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, X, XI).

A. *Risālah fī mā yajib hifzuhū li 'l-nāzir* (رسالة في مايجب حفظه للناظر).

B. i. *'Azīzu 'l-iqtibās* (عزيز الاقتباس) : Rāmpūr 95; Āṣafiyyah i 646.

ii. *Al-Aḥādīthu 'l-mawḍū'ah* (الاحاديث الموضوعة) : Nadwah 250.

34. *Qāḍī* Muḥd. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī of Delhi (1246/1830).

He was the grandson of the celebrated Shāh Walī Allāh and was well known for his piety and religious zeal. He joined Mawlawī Sayyid Aḥmad's holy war expedition against the Sikhs in the Punjab, and was killed near Bālā-Kot.

[1. Ithāf 416, 2. Abjad 916, 3. Tadhkirah 179].

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, X).

A. *Tanwīru 'l-'aynayn fī ithbāt raf'i 'l-yadayn* (تنوير العينين في اثبات رفع اليدين) : Bri. Mus.

B. *Raddu 'l-ishrāk* (رد الاشراك) : Āṣafiyyah i 666.

35. Irtiḍā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān of Gopamā'ū (1251/-1835).

He was born in 1198/1783. He was a pupi of Maulawī Hayder 'Alī of Sandīla. His father was a *qāḍī* in Madras whom he succeeded in that position on his death.

[1. Tadhkirah 21, 2. Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt 421].

(For other work of his, see sections III, VI, IX).

B. *Madāriju 'l-isnād* (مدارج الاسناد): Āṣaffyyah 666.

36. Sayyid Abū Aḥmad Awlād Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Luṭf Allāh Qannawjī (1253/1837).

He was the father of the celebrated Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan of Bhopal.

[1. Ithāf 235, 2. Abjad 935].

C. *Arba'īn* (اربعين) : Ithāf 235.

37. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Ya'qūb 'Alī al-Sindī (1257/1841).

He was a resident of Sind and was born in Sind but he completed his education at Zabīd. Then he went to Ṣan'ā' where he married the daughter of the minister. The *Imām* of San'ā' sent him as an ambassador to Egypt. Afterwards he returned to his native place in Sind where he stayed for some time and then he went to Madīnah where he was appointed as the head of the theologians. He died at Madīnah.

[1. Abjad 850, 2. Tadhkirah 202, 3. Bānkīpur 240.]

(For anothers work of his, see section III).

A. i. *Al-Mawāhib al-Laṭīfah 'alā Musnad Abī Hanīfah* (المواهب اللطيفة علي مسند علي ابي حنيفة): MSS. Bānkīpur 240 ; Delhi 301 ; Āṣafiyyah. i 638, ii 262.

ii. *Tartīb Musnad Imām Abī Hanīfah* (ترتيب مسند إمام بي حنيفة): Bri. Mus.

B. *Haṣru 'l-shārid* (حصر الشارد): Āṣafiyyah iii 254.

C. i. *Taysīru l'-wuṣūl ilā aḥādithi 'r-rasūl* (تيسير الوصول الي احاديث الرسول): Abjad 850.

ii. *Sharḥ Bulūgh al-marām* (شرح بلوغ المرام لابن حجر)

38. Abū Su'aymān Muḥammad Isḥāq (1262/1845).

He was the son of *Shāh Walī Allāh's* daughter and a pupil of his maternal grandfather.

[Tadhkirah 178.]

C. *Al-Arba'īn fī faḍā'ili 'l-ḥajj wa 'l-'umrah* (الاربعين في فضائل الحج و العمرة): Itḥāf 11.

39. Shaykh Mubārak b. Arzānī al-Ruhtaki al-Banārsī (13th century).

See Bānkīpūr 364.

B. *Madāriju 'l-akhbār* (مدارج الاخبار): Ibid.

40. Walī Allāh b. Ghulām Muḥd. Sūratī 13th) Century).

See Bānkīpūr 406.

B. *Al-Tanbīhāt* (التنبيهات):

Ibid.

WORKS OF UN-KNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. 'Umar b. 'Ārif al-Nahr walī.

Sec. Loth 131.

B. *Al-Faydu 'l-Nabawī fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth wa fahārisi 'l-Bukhārī* (الفيض النبوى في اصول الحديث وفهارس البخارى) : Ibid.

2. Shāh Muḥd. Ghawth of Peshāwar.

B. *Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-ḥadīth* (رسالة في اصول الحديث) : Peshāwar 439.

3. Wajīh Allāh b. Mujīb Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindī.

B. *Sharḥ al-Arba'īn li 'n-Nawawī* (شرح الاربعين للنووى): Āṣafiyyah 1634.

4. Shaykh Faqīr Allāh b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Shikārpūr.

B. *Wathīqatu 'l-akābir* (وثيقة الاكابر) : Peshāwar 375.

5. Abu 'l-Fatḥ 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī.

A. *Nuzul man ittiqā bi Kashfi 'l-aḥwāli 'l-muntaqā* (نزل من اتقي بكشف الاحوال المنتقى) : Rāmpūr p. 139.

SECTION III

FIQH LITERATURE.

1. Muḥammad b Ismā'ıl al-Khaṭıb Nazıl Delhi (composed in 640/1142).

Nothing of him could be known.

B. *Siwānu 'l-qaḍā'* (صوان القضاء): Āṣafiyyah ii 1050.

2. Shaykh Ṣafiyy al-Dın Muḥd. b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥım al-Hindı (715/1315).

He was born in India in 644. He went to Yaman from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Then he visited Cairo, Constantinople and Damascus where he settled and died.

[1. Al-Duraru 'l-Kāminah, under the name 'Ṣafiyy,' 2. Abjad 806.]

(For another work of his, see section V.)

C. i. *Nihāyatu 'l-wuṣūl ilā 'ilmi 'l-uṣūl* (نهاية الوصول الي علم الاصول) : Khalıfah under the very title and Abjad 806.

ii. *Al-Fā'iq fı uṣūli 'dın* (الفائق في اصول الدين) : Ibid.

3. Mu'ınu 'd-Dın 'Imranı Dihlawı (during the reign of Muḥd Tughlaq—725-752/1324-1351).

He was one of the eminent theologians attached to the court of Muḥammad Tughlaq. He was sent by the Sulṭān to Shırāz to fetch *Qāḍı* 'Aḍudu 'd-Dın, the celebrated theologian of Shırāz to Delhi, but the ruler of the country did not suffer the *Qāḍī* to leave Shırāẓ for India.

[1. Akhbār 142, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq (Elliot vi 486), 3. Subḥah 37, 4. Ma'āthir 184, 5. Abjad 892, 6. Ḥadā'iq 304, 7. Tadhkirah 282, 8. Nuzhat 165.]

(For other works of his see section IX.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Talwiḥ* (حاشية على التلويح) : Nadwah 721.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Husāmi* (حاشية على الحسامي): Ma'āthir 184.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Kanzu 'd-daqā'iq* (حاشية على كنز الدقائق) : Ibid

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Manār* (حاشية على المنار): Akhbār 142.

4. Abū Bakr Isḥāq b. Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan, called Ibn al-Tāj (after 736/1335).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. i. *Kitabu 'l-ḥajj wa 'l-manāsik* (كتاب الحج والمناسك) : Berlin 4064.

ii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-aḥkām bi sharā'iṭi 'l-īmān wa 'l-islām* (خلاصة الاحكام بشرائط الايمان و الاسلام): Berlin 1798-9.

5. *Qāḍī* Ḥamīdu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī (764/1362).

He was an eminent scholar of his time. His *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* has been mentioned by *Ḥājjī* Khalīfah.

[1. Khalīfah vi 492, 2. Ma'āthir 182, 3. Shubḥah 29, 4. Abjad 891, 5. Ḥadā'iq 291, 6. Tadhkiraḥ 53.]

C. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* (شرح الهداية): Ibid.

6. Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn Dihlawī (during the reign of 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn *Khiljī*—695-715/1295-1315*).

He was a scholar well-versed in *fiqh*, *uṣūlu'l-fiqh* and Arabic literature.

[Nuzhat 37]

B. *Al-Biḥāru 'dh-dhākhirah* (البحار الذاخرة):Āṣafiy-yah ii 1072.

7. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

*But according to the date given in 'Asafiyyd ii 1072, he died in 770/1368.

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, IX.)

B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Mughnī* (شرح المغني): Berlin 4384, Ātif 703, Lālah-lī 743, Qilij 'Alī 306, (see Brockelmann ii 220.)

ii. *Fatāwā qārī al-Hidāyah* (فتاوى قاري الهداية): Rāmpūr 227.

iii. *Zubdatu 'l-aḥkām fī ikhtilāfi 'l-a'immati 'l-a'lām* (زبدة الاحكام في اختلاف ائمة الاعلام): Berlin 4862; Delhi 1951.

iv. *Al-Ghurratu 'l-munīfah fī tarjīḥ madhhab* Abī Ḥanīfah (الغرة المنيفة في ترجيح مذهب ابي حنيفة): Āṣafiyyah ii 1096.

v. *Al-Fatāwā al-Sirājiyyah* (الفتاوى السراجية): Miftāḥ 990.

C. i. *Al-Tawshīḥ, Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyat al-Kabīr* (التوشيح شرح الهداية الكبير): Khalīfah vi 485.

ii. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyat al-Ṣaghīr* (شرح الهداية الصغير): Ibid

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Jāmi'i 'l-ṣaghīr* (شرح الجامع الصغير): Tadhkirah 151.

iv. *Sharḥu 'l-Jāmi'i 'l-kabīr* (شرح الجامع الكبير): Ibid.

v. *Sharḥu 'l-Manār* (شرح المنار): Ibid.

vi. *Sharḥu 'l-Mukhtār* (شرح المختار): Ibid.

vii. *Sharḥu 'z-ziyādāt* (شرح الزيادات): Ibid.

viii. *'Uddatu 'l-nāsik fī 'l-manāsik* (عدة الناسك في المناسك): Ibid.

ix. *Kāshif Ma'ānī al-Badī' fī 'l-uṣūl* (كاشف معاني البديع في الاصول): Khalīfah under *Al-Badī'*.

8. Sayyid Yūsuf b. Sayyid Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī of Multān (790/1388)

One of his ancestors migrated from Mashhad to Multān, which our author left for Delhi during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, who being impressed with his learning, appointed him a teacher at the royal school.

[Tadhkirah 256]

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Tawjīhu 'l-kalām fī Sharḥi 'l-Manār* (توجيه الكلام في شرح المنار) : Ibid.

9. 'Ālim b. 'Alā'u 'l-Ḥanafī Andapathī (in the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq—752-790/1351-1388).

He was one of the eminent theologians and scholars of Fīrūz Shāh's time. He wrote a voluminous and comprehensive work on jurisprudance in which be quoted about thirty authorities. He dedicated it to the *Khān-i-a'ẓam* Tātār-Khān.

[1. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (Elliot vi 1487), 2. Muḥd 'Abdu 'l-Awwal's Mufīdu 'l-muftī 102, 3. Nuzhat 67.]

B. *Al—Fatāwā al-Tātār Khāniyyah** (الفتاوى التاتار خانيه) : Cairo iii 87; Peshāwar 626; Rāmpūr No. 361; Āṣafiyyah ii 1052; Rieu 1199; Bānkīpūr 1715-1719.

10. Badr b. Tāj b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Lahore (in the 8th Century A. H.)

Nothing of the author is known to us except that he was a pupil of Ḍiyā'u' d-Dīn Sunāmī who was a contemporary of the great saint Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1324).

B. *Maṭālibu 'l-mu'minīn* (مطالب المؤمنين): Bānkīpūr 1720.

11. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rukn b. Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn *al-muftī* of Nāgor (either in the end of the 8th or in the beginning of the 9th century A. H.)

Nothing is known of his except that he was a *mufti* of Nāgor and that he composed his *Fatāwā* at Nahrwāla with the collaboration of his son Dā'ūd

*According to the *Nuzhat*, it is also called the *Zadu 's-safar* or *Zadu 'l-musafirin*.

under the direction of *Qāḍī* Hammādu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. *Qāḍī* Akram, the chief *qāḍī* of Gujarāt.

A. *Al-Fatāwā al-Hammādiyyah* (الفتاوى الحمادية): Āṣafiyyah iii 436.

MSS. Bānkipūr XIX (i) 1723; Buhār (ii) 162; Delhi 815; Cario (iii) 88; Rāmpūr 222; Bengal 14; Calcutta 41; India Office 1689-1691

12. Shaykh 'Alī b. Aḥmad Mahā'imī (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

A. *Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī* (فقه مخدومی).

MS. Āṣafiyyah ii 1096.

13. *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zawulī Dawlatābādī (849/1445).

(For a short account of his life, refer to p. 167.)

[**1.** Akhbār 175, **2.** Firishtah ii 595, **3.** Ā'īn under the account of the Sharqī Kingdom, **4.** Ṭabaqāt fol. 60, **5.** Ma'āthir 188, **6.** Subḥah 39, **7.** Abjad 895, **8.** Nuḥāt 128, **9.** Ḥadā'iq 319, **10.** Tadhkirah 88, **11.** Mufīdu 'l-muftī 124, **12.** Āzād, 14, **13.** Qāmūs ii 27, **14.** Tajallī 33, **15.** Ency. Islām i 932, **16.** Storey No. 16, **17.** Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl i 117 (foot note.)]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX, X.)

B. *Sharḥ Uṣūlal-Bazdawī** (شرح اصول البزدوي): MS. in possession of Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād (see his *Tadhkirah* p. 280.)

14. Sa'du 'd-Dīn Khayrābādī (882/1477).

His father was a *qāḍī* at Khayrābād. He was a pupil of Mawlānā A'ẓam of Lucknow and a disciple of Shaykh Menā Lakhnawī. He composed several works.

[**1.** Ma'āthir 190, **2.** Subḥah 42, **3.** Abjad 894, **4.** Ḥadā'iq 336, Tadhkirah 75.]

*According to the Bankipur Catalogue (Vol. XIX part ii No. 1749) the work is assigned to Shihabu 'd-Din Ahmad b. Muhd., commonly called Nizamu 'l-Jilani, the author of the *Fatawa Ibrahim Shahiyyah*.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, IX.)

C. i. *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Bazdawī* (شرح اصول البزدوي) Abjad 894.

Sharḥ al-Ḥusāmī (شرح الحسامي) : Ibid.

15. Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Sa'du 'd-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm (891/1486).*

He was a learned man of Delhi.

[1. Tadhkirah 76, 2. Brockelmann ii 220.]

B. *Ifāḍatu 'l-Manār, Sharḥ al-Manār* (افاضة المنار، شرح المنار) : Āṣafiyyah i 98; Koprīlī 508; Dāmād Ibrāhīm 483; Walī 978; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 988; Cairo ii 238; Yenī 308/9.

C. *Sharḥ Kanz al-daqā'iq* (شرح كنز الدقائق) : Tadhkirah 76.

16. *Qāḍī* Chakan (920/1514).

He was an eminent Scholar of Gujarat.

[1. Khalīfah iii 135, 2. Brockelmann ii 221, 3. Buhār No. 156, 4. Mufīdu 'l-Muftī ii 32.]

B. *Khizānatu 'r-riwāyāt* (خزانة الروايات) : Walī 1437; Yenī 605; Nūr 'Uthmānī 1520; 'Āshir 326; Buhār ii, 156; Bānkīpūr xix (i) 1736-39; Bengāl ii 352; Loth 276; Rāmpūr 172; Āṣafiyyah ii 1084; India Office 1603-4.

17. Ilāhdād of Jawnpūr (932/1525).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Hidāyah* (شرح الهداية) : Salīmyyah 433; 'Āṭif 262; Walī 1319; Peshāwar 516-7.

C. *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Bazdawī* (شرح اصول البزدوي) : Tadhkirah 25.

18. Shihābu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad entitled Niẓām al-Jīlānī (either in the 9th or 10th century A. H.)

He was an erudite scholar who was brought up in Gujarat. It is controversial whether he flourished in

*791/1388 according to the *Tadhkirah*.

the 9th or 10th century A. H. According to an article which appeared in the celebrated Urdū periodical *Ma'ārif* of A'zamgarh for May, 1930, (p. 347) he wrote his *Fatāwā* for Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (803-844/1400-1440). The same view is held by Muhammed 'Abdu 'l-Awwal Jawnpūrī in his *Mufīdu 'l-muftī* ii (p. 99) where it is recorded that Niẓām Jīlānī was a contemporary of Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī and that his grave is still existing at Jawnpūr. The other view is* that he dedicated his *Fatāwā* to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (941-965/1535-1557).

B. *Fatāwā Ibrāhīm Shāhiyyah* (فتاوي ابر اهيم شاهيه): Buhār 159; Bankīpūr 1749-52; Āṣafiyyah ii 1052; iii 422; Calcutta 40; Rāmpr p. 221; India office 1704, 1705; Naddhīr Aḥmad 46.

19. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Awwal of Zaydpūr (968/1560). (For another work of his, see section II.)

C. i. *Naẓmu 'l-Farā'iḍi 's-Sirājiyyah* (نظام الفرائض السراجيه): Ḥadā'iq 375.

ii. *Sharḥ 'l-Farā'iḍi 's-Sirājiyyah* (شرح الفرائض السراجيه): Ibid.

20. Shaykh Jalāl Thānīsarī (989/1581).

He was a leading disciple of the saint 'Abdu 'l-Quddūs of Gangoh, a village near Sahāranpūr and was well-versed in esoteric and exoteric learning.

[**1.** Haft Iqlīm No. 380, **2.** Akhbār 277, **3.** Badā'ūnī iii 3, **4.** Safīnah 101, **5.** Ṭabaqāt fol. 192, **6.** Tadhkirah 40.]

A. *Risālah fī Taḥqīq arāḍī al-Hind* (رسالة في تحقيق اراضي الهند): In Bri.Mus. MS. India Office 1730, where the title of the work and the name of the author are wrongly given as the *Aḥkāmu 'l-arāḍī* and

* See 1. Buhar Arabic Mss. Catalogue ii 159.
2. Bankipur Catalogue xix part ii No. 1749.
3. Nadhir Ahmad No. 46, where *Al-Nadwah* for 1910 (No. 8 pp. 25—28) has been quoted as one of his authorities.

Muhd. A'lā Ibn Qādī Muhd. Hāmid Ibn Muhd. Ṣābir Thānawī respectively.[1]

21. *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī (990/1582).

He was one of the eminent scholars of his time. Humāyūn conferred upon him the titles of *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* and *Shaykhu 'l-Islām*. After Humāyūn's death he was attached to his son Akbar's Court. He played a prominent part in the religious discussions which were organised by Akbar. It is said that it was chiefly due to his bigotry that Akbar became hostile to the orthodox creed of Islām.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii 70, 2. Ṭabaqat fol. 209 b, 3. Ma'āthiru 'l-umarā' iii 252, 4. Ḥadā'iq 397, 5. Beale 7, 6. Tadhkirah 103.]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. *Risālāh fi 'l-Mubāḥ* (رسالة في المباح) Bengal ii 41.

22. Zaynu 'd-Dīn b. 'Abdal-'Azīz al-Ma'barī (after 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IV, VIII.)

A. i. *Qurratu -'l'ayn* (قرة العين): In British Mus.

ii. *Fathu 'l-mu'īn bi sharh Qurratu 'l-'ayn* (فتح المعين بشرح قرة العين): Ibid. MS. Āṣafiyyah iv 458.

23. Raḥmat Ullāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (993/1585).[2]

He was a native of Sindh but he migrated to Madīnah and died at Makkah.

[1. Al-Nūr folio 153, 2. Al-Kawākib folio 204, 3. Akhbār 273, 4. Ṭarabu 'l-amāthil 220, 5. Brockelmann ii 416, 6. Tadhkirah 62.]

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1. See also No. 57 of this section.
2. 990/1582 according to the *Tadhkirah* p. 61.

A. i *Lubābu 'l-manāsik wa 'ubābu 'l-masālik* (لباب المناسک و عباب المسالک): see **Mu'jam 930.** MSS. Rāmpūr 224; Bānkipūr 1760; Āṣafiyyah i 1102.

ii. *Majma'u 'l-manāsik wa naf'u 'l-nāsik* (مجمع المناسک و نفع الناسک): Ibid.

MSS. Cairo iii 270; Sulaymāniyyah 412 (where wrongly assigned to 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm).

B. i. *Al-Manāsiku 's-ṣaghīr* (المناسک الصغير): Berlin 4055.

ii. *Al-Manāsiku 'l-awsaṭ.* (المناسک الاوسط): Peshawar 635.

iii. *Risālah fī Iqtidā' bi 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah wa 'l-khilāf bi dhālik* (رسالة في اقتداء بالشافعية و الخلاف بذالک): Cairo vii 386.

24. Wajīhu-'d-Dīn Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, IX.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah* (حاشية علي شرح الوقاية): Būhār 164; Rāmpūr 186.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Talwīḥ* (حاشيه علي التلويح): Nadwah 712.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala Uṣūl al-Bazdawī.* (حاشية علي اصول البزدوي): Tadhkirah 250.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Sharḥ al-'Aḍudī 'alā al-Mukhtaṣar li Ibn al-Hājib* (حاشيه علي الشرح العضدي علي المختصر لابن حاجب): Ibid.

25. 'Alī b. Aḥmad Sa'īd al-Ma'barī (in the beginning of the 11th century).

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Fatḥi 'l-mu'īn* (حاشيه علي فتح المعين): In Bri. Mus.

26. *Qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ma'ālī b. Khwājah al-Bukhārī, commonly called *Qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ma'ālī (in the tenth century A. H.).

He was an authority on *fiqh*, and was a pupil and son-in-law of 'Azīzān al-Bukhārī. On coming to India he settled at Agra where he died.

(1. Tadhkirah 6, 2. Bānkīpūr 1752)

B. *Hasbu 'l-Muftī* (حسب المفتي): Bānkīpūr 1752, Cairo iii 41, Rāmpūr 167.

27. 'Atīq Allāh b. Isma'īl b. Sh. Qāsim (in the time of Akbar—963-1014/1556-1605).

B. *Fatāwā Akbar Shāhī* (فتاوى اكبر شاهي): 'Āṣafiyyah ii 1052.

28. Shaykh Ḥamīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī (1009/1600).

[Muḥibbī ii 327]

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-ḥasan fī jawāz iqtidā' bi 'l-Imām al-Shāfi'ī fi 'n-nawāfil wa 'l-sunan* (القول الحسن في جواز اقتداء بالامام الشافعي في النوافل و السنن): Rāmpūr 238.

29. Nūr Allāh Shūṣtarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VII, IX.)

B. i. *Nihāyatu 'l-aqdām* (نهاية الاقدام): Miftāḥ 1096, Bengal i 1074.

C. i. *Risālah fī Najāsati 'l-khamr* (رسالة في نجاسة الخمر): Kashf.

ii. *Risālah fī Ghusli 'l-juma'ah* (رسالة في غسل الجمعة): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī Taqdīri 'l-mā'i 'l-kathīr* (رسالة في تقدير الماء الكثير): Ibid.

vi. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Hidāyah* (حاشية على الهداية): Ibid.

v. *Risālah fī 'l-Kaffārah* (رسالة في الكفارة): Ibid.

vi. *Hāshiyah 'alā Qawā'idi 'l-aḥkām fī 'l-fiqh* (حاشية على قواعد الاحكام في الفقه): Ibid.

vii *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Wiqāyah* (حاشية على شرح الوقاية): Ibid.

viii. *Al-Lum'ah fī ṣalāti 'l-juma'ah* (اللمعة في صلوة الجمعة): Ibid.

30. Muḥd. Sharīf Kanboh (in the time of the Emperor Jahāngīr—1014-1037/1605-1627).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, VI, IX.)

B. *Mulhamu 'l-ghayb* (ملهم الغيب):

Bānkīpūr 1779.

31. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VI, IX.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Ḥusāmī* (حاشية علي الحسامي): Peshāwar 527.

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Talwīḥ* (حاشية على التلويح): Lālah-lī 709; Asad Āyā 458; Jāmi' Sharīfī 252; Asad 458; Cairo ii 261; Loth 326; Āṣafiyyah i 92; Peshāwar 575; Rāmpūr 270.

32. 'Abdu 's-Salām of Dīwah (in the time of Shāhjahān—1037-1069/1628-1659).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)

B. *Ishrāḥātu 'l-ma'āliyyah, Sharḥ al-manār* (اشراحات المعالية): Miftāḥ 740; Nadhīr Aḥmad 135.

33. 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Jawnpūrī entitled Shamsu'l-Ḥaqq b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd (1083/1672).

He was a pupil of Sh. Faḍl Allāh Jawnpūrī, and was a distinguished scholar and author of his time. He also composed verses, his *takhalluṣ* being Shamsī.

[1. Ma'āthir 203, 2. Subḥah 66, 3. Abjad. 902, 4. Ḥadā'iq 456, 5. Tajallī 49-61, 6. Tadhkirah 119, 7. Āzād 37.]

(For another work of his, see sections VI.)

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā al-Sharḥ al-'Aḍudī* (حاشيه على الشرح العضدي على مختصر الاصول): Ma'āthir 204.

34. Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn b Khwājah Maḥmūd Naqshbandī (1085/1674).

He was an eminent scholar of Kashmīr.

[Tadhkirah 229]

B. *Al-Fatāwā al-naqshbandiyyah* (الفتاوى النقشبنديه): Bānkīpūr 1785 ; Rāmpur 229.

C. *Kanzu l-sa'ādat* (كنز السعادة): Tadhkirah 229.

35. Abu 'l-Labīb 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (11th century A. H.).

For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. i. *Zādu 'l-Labīb fī safari 'l-ḥabīb* (زاد اللبيب في سفر لحبيب) : Peshāwar 591.

ii. *Al-Taṣrīḥ bi ghwāmiḍi 't-Talwīḥ* (التصريح بغوامض التلويح) : Loth 327.

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala al-Hidāyah* (حاشيه على الهدايه) : Farḥat 74.

36 'Abdu 'l-Laṭīf b. Jamāl b. Ḥamīd al-Nahrwālī (11th century A. H.).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

B. *Sharḥ Mawāhib al-Raḥmān* (شرح مواهب الرحمن لابراهيم بن موسي الطرابلسي) : Bānkīpūr 1743,

37. Shaykh Nizam (and other scholars) in the time of Awrangzib—1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was a resident of Burhanpur and a pupil of *Qāḍī* Naṣiru 'd-Din Burhanpuri. He entered into the service of Awrangzib when he was the Governor of Deccan. Nizam was the president of the committee of the Indian Muslim Jurists, which was appointed by Awrangzib to compose a most authentic and comprehensive work on the *Hanafī Fiqh*. We have no complete list of the members of the committee. The author of the *Mufīdu 'l-Muftī* says that he could, with great difficulty, find out the following five names in addition to Nizam :—

1. Mulla Ḥamid Jawnpuri, 2. *Qāḍī* Muḥd. Ḥusayn Jawnpuri, 3. Muḥd. Abu 'l-Khayr of Thattah, 4. Mulla Muḥd. Jamil Ṣiddiqi Jawnpuri, 5. Jalalu 'd-Din Muḥammad of Machhlishihr.

[1. 'Ālamgir-Namah 1087, 2. Farḥat, 73, 3. Tadhkirah 242. 4. Mufidu 'l-Mufti III.]

A. *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī* (also called *al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah* (فتاوى عالمگيرى يا الفتاوى الهندية) :

MSS. Berlin 4441-2 ; Loth 275 ; Āṣafiyyah p. 1054-5 ; India Office 1706-11 ; Bri. Mus. Supp. 299-300 ; Delhi 618 ; Rāmpur 225 ; Bengal 16 ; Asad Āya 1102 ; Nur 'Uthmani 47 ; Cairo iii 93 ; Bankipur XIX (ii) Nos. 1789-1799.

38. *Qāḍī* Muḥibb Allah b. 'Abd al-Shakur of Behar (1119/1707).

He was a pupil of *Mullā* Quṭbu 'd-Din Shamsabadi. Having completed his studies, he went to the Deccan and entered into the service of Awrangzib who appointed him *Qāḍī* first at Lucknow and then at Hyderābād,

Later on he was put in charge of the education of the Emperor's grandson Rafi'u 'sh-Shān. Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur Shāh appointed him *Ṣadru 'ṣ-ṣudūr* of the Empire and conferred the title of *Fāḍil Khān* upon him. He was one of the most eminent scholars of his age in India.

[1. Ma'athir 211, 2. Subḥah 76, 3. Abjad 905, 4. Brockelmann II 420, 5. Tadhkirah 175, 6. Ency. Islām I 717, 7. J.A.S.B. of 1913 p. 295, 8. Āzād 42, 9. Qamus ii 177]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI.)

A. *Musallam al-thubūt* (مسلم الثبوت):
MSS. Miftāḥ 757; Rāmpur 278; Āṣafiyyah i 102, iv 36; Calcutta 27; Bānkipur XIX (i) 1530-32; India Office 1489-1494.

B. *Minhiyyah 'alā Musallam al-thubūt* (منهيه على مسلم الثبوت): Rāmpur 279.

39. *Mufti* Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Shaykh Husāmu 'd-Dīn (during Awrangzīb's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

(Tadhkirah 35 under Turāb 'Alī; Bānkipur IX (ii) Nos. 1800-1)

B. *Majamaʻu 'l-barakāt* (مجمع البركات): Āṣafiyyah iv 422; India Office 1701-2; Miftāḥ 1044; Bānkipur XIX (ii) Nos. 1800; Rāmpur No. 515.

40. Mullā Muḥd. Muḥsin Kashu Kashmīrī (1119/1707).

He was one of the eminent scholars of Kashmir.

(1. Rawḍatu 'l-abrār 8, 2. Ḥadā'iq 432, 3. Tadhkirah 212.)

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Hidāyah* (حاشيه على الهدايه): Tadhkirah 212

41. Mullā Aḥmad Jiwan b. Abī Sa'īd (1130/1717).

(For other works of his, see section I.)

A. *Nūru 'l-anwār sharḥ al-Manār* (نور الانوار شرح المنار):

MSS Loth 316; Aligarh 109; Āṣafiyyah i 102, iv 38; Bānkipūr XIX (i), No. 1511; India Office 1456-1460.

42. *Qāḍī* Muḥd. 'Īsā b. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Majīd Siddīqī of Junagarh (Farrukhsiyar's time—1124-1131/1713-1719).

He was a Qāḍī at Junagarh and was well versed in the Islamic learning.

B. *Fatḥu 'l-qādir Sharḥ al-Hidāyah* (فتح القادر شرح الهداية): only a portion is in the possession of one of his descendants, *Qāḍī* Aḥmad Miyān Akhtar of Junāgarh.

43. *Ḥāfiẓ* Amān Allāh b. Nūr Allah of Benares (1133/1720).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VI.)

B. *Muḥkamu 'l-uṣūl* (محكم الاصول): Bengal I 902.

C. i. *Al-Mufassir fī 'l-uṣūl* (المفسر في الاصول): Tadhkirah 27.

ii. *Al-Ḥāshiyah 'alā al-Talwīḥ* (الحاشية على التلويح): Ibid.

44. Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāju 'd-Dīn Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, called *Fāḍil-i-Hindī* (1137/1724).

[Nujūm 211]

(For other works of his, see section IX.)

A. *Kashf lithāmi 'l-ibhām fī sharḥ qawā'idi 'l-aḥkām* (كشف لثام الابهام في شرح قواعد الاحكام): Bri. Mus.

C. i. *Al-Zubdah fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (الزبدة في اصول الدين): Kashf.

ii *Al-Manāhiju 'n-nabawiyyah fī sharḥ al-Rawḍātu 'l-bahiyyah* (المناهج النبوية في شرح الروضات البهية):

[Nujūm 211]

45. Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l Hādī al-Sindī 1138/1725).

(For other works of his, refer to section II.)

B. *Manhalu 'l-hudāt fī sharḥ Mu'addil 's-ṣalāt* (منهل الهداة في شرح معدل الصلوة): Āṣafiyyah ii 1106; Lālah lī 1021.

46. Ḥabīb Allāh of Qannawj (1140/1727).

[Tadhkirah 46]

C. i *Al-Fāḍil fī 'l-fiqh* (الفاضل في الفقة): Ibid.

ii. *Mukhtaṣaru 'l-frā'iḍ* (مختصر الفرائض): see Bānkīpur 1960 ii.

47. Abu 'l-Ma'ārif 'Ināyat Allāh Qādirī Lāhūrī (1141/1728).

[Tadhkirah 152]

C. i. *Multaqaṭu 'l-ḥaqā'iq fī sharḥ Kanzi 'd-daqā'iq* (ملتقط الحقائق في شرح كنز الدقائق): Ibid.

ii. *Ghāyatu 'l-ḥawāshī 'alā sharḥ 'l Wiqāyah* (غاية الحواشي على شرح الوقاية): Ibid.

48. Shāh Khūb Allāh Muḥammad Yaḥyā of Allahabad (1144/1731).

He was the nephew, disciple and son-in-law of Muḥammad Afḍal of Allahabad.

[Tadhkirah 58]

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

C. *Al-Qawlu 's-ṣaḥīḥ fī ṣalāti 't-tasbīḥ* (القول الصحيح في صلوة التسبيح): Tadhkirah 58.

49. Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Qāḍī 'Abdu 'r-Rasūl al-'Uthmānī of Aḥmadnagar (d. after 1144/1731).

He was a pupil and disciple of **Wajīhu'd-Dīn 'Alawī** of **Gujarāt.**

[**1.** Tadhkirah 135; **2.** Bankipur 2010].

(For other works of his, see sections **VI, IX.**)

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Farā'iḍi 's-sirājiyyah* (حاشيه على الفرائض السراجيه): Āṣafiyyah ii 1082.

50. Nūru 'd-Dīn b. Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV, V, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 't-Talwīḥ* (حاشيه على التلويح): Tadhkirah 248.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Wiqāyah* (حاشيه على شرح الوقايه): Ibid.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala Sharḥi 'l-Maṭāli'* (حاشيه على شرح المطالع): Ibid.

51. Ḥamd Allāh b. Shukr Allāh of Sandīlā (1160/1747).

He was one of the eminent pupils of *Mulla* Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn Sihālawī. He received the title of *Faḍl Allāh Khān* from the king of Delhi. He was chiefly interested in the studies of Philosophy. His commentary on *Taṣdīqāt Sullami 'l-'ulūm* by Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār is well known in India.

[**1.** Tadhkirah 52, **2.** Maḥbub 423].

(For other works of his, refer to section **VI.**)

B *Sharḥ Zubdatu 'l-uṣūl* (شرح زبدة الاصول): Miftāḥ 725; Bengal i 553.

52. *Mulla* Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn b. Quṭbu 'd-Din al-Sihālawī (1161/1748).

After his father's death, he continued his studies under Ḥāfiẓ Amān Allāh of Benares, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn of Shamsābād and Ghulām Naqshband of Lucknow till he became one of the eminent scholars of his time. He was a disciple of Sayyid 'Abdur 'r-Razzāq Hānsawī.

[1. Ma'āthir 220, 2. Subḥah 94, 3. Abjad 911, 4. Ḥadā'iq 455, 5. Tadhkirah 241, 6. Farangī 179, 7. 'Abdu 'l-Awwals' Mufīdu 'l-Mufti 133, 8. Āzād 58.]

(For other works of his, refer to sections V, VI.)

B. i. *Sharḥ Musallam al thubūt* (شرح مسلم الثبوت): Loth 332; Bengal i 602; Būhār 140; Āṣafiyyah i 98; Miftāḥ 735; Rāmpur 274; Nadwah 713.

ii. *Al-Subḥu 's-ṣādiq sharḥ al-Manār* (الصبح الصادق شرح المنار): Rāmpur 275.

iii. *Sharḥu 't-Taḥrīr fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (شرح التحرير في اصول الدين): Bengal i 536.

53. Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr al-Sindī (1174/1760).

(For other works of his, see sections II, V.)

A. *Farā'iḍu 'l-islām* (فرائض الاسلام): Bri. Mus.

B. i. *Risālah fī waḍ'i 'l-yadayn taḥta 's-surrah* (رسالہ في وضع اليدين تحت السرہ): Peshāwar 598.

ii. *Risālah Fākihatu 'l-bustān* (رسالہ فاكہۃ البستان): Ibid. 897; Bānkīpur 1802.

iii. *Al-Bayāḍu 'l-jāmi'ah fī aqwāli 'l-fuqahā'* (البياض الجامعہ في اقوال الفقهاء): Bānkīpur 1803; Āṣafiyyah iv 434.

iv. *Tanqīḥu 'l-kalām 'an qirā'at khalfi 'l-imām* (تنقيح الكلام عن قراءت خلف الامام): Āṣafiyyah iv 434.

54. Shāh Walī Allāh b. 'Abdur 'r- Raḥīm of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV, V, X, XI)

A. i. *'Iqdu 'l-jīd fī aḥkāmi 'l-ijtihād wa 't-taqlīd* (عقد الجيد في احكام الاجتهاد و التقليد): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Āṣafiyyah i 98, iii 44; Miftāḥ 2711; Rāmpur 276.

ii. *Al-Inṣāf fī bayān sabab 'l-ikhtilāf* (الانصاف في بيان سبب الاختلاف): Ibid.

MSS. Miftāḥ 2614/3; Bengal 182; Rampur 281; Āṣafiyyah i 88.

55. Rustam 'Alī b. 'Alī Aṣghar al-Qannawjī (1178/1764).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)-

C. *Sharḥu 'l-Manār* (شرح المنار): Abjad 932.

56. *Mullā* Nūr Muḥammad called Nūr Bābā Patlū of Kashmīr (1195/1780).

He was a pupil of 'Abdu 's-Sattār Kāshmīrī and *Qāḍī* Mubārak Gopāmawī.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 458, 2. Tadhkirah 248.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, IX.)

B *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Ḥāshiyati 'l-Siyālkūtī 'alā 't-Talwīḥ* (حاشية علي حاشية السيالكوتي علي التلويح): Miftāḥ 708; Rāmpur 270.

57. *Qadi* Muhd. A'la b. *Qadi* Muhd. Hamid Thanawai (in 11th century).

B. ***Risalah Ahkam al-aradi*** (رسالة احكام الاراضي) :* India Office 1730; Asafiyyah iv 434.

58. Sahib-zadah Miyan Muhammadi (12th century)

B. *Burhanu 'l-usul* (برهان الاصول): Peshawar 581.

59. Muhammad A'lam al-Sandili (12th century). (Tadhkirah 180.)

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Al-Mathalu 's-sa'ir fi kashfi 'd-Da'ir* (المثل السائر في كشف الدائر): Delhi 1575.

60. *Mulla* Barakat (12th century)

[See Bankipur x 545.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI, VIII.)

B. *Sharh Musallam al-thubut* (شرح مسلم الثبوت): Rampur 144.

61. Shaykh Muhd. Abu' t-Tayyib al-Sindi (12th century).

(For another work of his, see section II.)

B. *Qurratu 'l-anzar, Hashiyah 'ala Tanwir al-Manar* (قرة الانظار حاشية على تنوير المنار): Peshawar 547.

62. *Qadi* Ahmad 'Ali b. Sayyid Fath Allah of Sandilah (12th century).

He was the pupil and son-in-law of Ahmad Allah of Sandilah. He held the post of *qadi* at his native

*See also No. 20. In the opinion of the present writer both the works are the same. The difference of the titles is very insignificant. The chief difference is, however, about the author-ship. According to the printed copy of تحقيق اراضي هند which the present writer saw at the Bri. Mus., the name of the author is, as far as his memory goes, and also as far as the written notes that he has with him throw light on this matter, Shaykh Jalal Thanesari, and according to the Asafiyyah Catalogue and also to the Arabic India Office Catalogue No. 1730, it is Muhammad A'la. Hence the one and the same book has been shown under two different authors according to their periods in this work. The India Office Catalogue does not give the period of the author, but according to the Asafiyyah Catalogue iv 434 it is 11th century.

place under the Delhi Government. He has several works to his credit.

[Tadhkirah 20.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Risālah fi Farā'iḍi 'l-Hanafiyyah* (رسالة في الفرائض الحنفية): Ibid.

63. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynı al-Zabīdı al-Hindı (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV, V, IX.)

A. i. *Nashwatu 'l-irtiyāḥ fi bayān ḥaqīqati 'l-maysar wa 'l-qidāḥ* (نشوة الارتياح في بيان حقيقة الميسر والقداح): Bri. Mus.

MS. Berlin 5502.

ii. *'Uqūdu 'l-Jawāhiri 'l-munīfah fi adillat Abī Hanīfah* (عقود الجواهر المنيفة في ادلة ابي حنيفة): Bri. Mus.

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-masmū' fi 'l-farq bayni 'l-kar' wa 'l-makrū'* (القول المسموع في الفرق بين الكرع والمكروع): Nadwah (N) 11.

C. i. *Kashfu 'l-ghiṭā 'ani 's-ṣalāti 'l-wusṭa* (كشف الغطا عن الصلوة الوسطى): Tadhkirah 225.

ii. *Al-Iḥtifāl bi 's-'ṣawmi 'ṣ-sittah min Shawwāl* (الاحتفال بالصوم الستة من شوال): Ibid.

iii. *Amāli Abī Hanīfah* (امالي ابي حنيفة): Ma'ārif of A'zamgarh Vol. xix, No. 2, p. 118.

64. *Mullā* Muhd. Ḥasan b. Ghulam Mustafa of Lucknow (1209/1794).

He was a great grandson of *Mullā* Quṭbu d'-Dīn Sihālawī and a pupil of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Sihālawī. He was chiefly interested in the Philosophic studies. He has many work to his credit.

[1. Al Aghṣānu 'l-arba'ah 8. 2. Tadhkirah 185, 3. Maḥbūb 191, 4. Buhār No. 310 ii, 5. Farangī 47.]

(For other works of his, refer to sections V, VI)

B. *Sharḥ Musallami 'th-thubūt* (شرح مسلم الثبوت): India Office 1496; Rāmpūr 275; Āṣafiyyah i 96.

65. Muḥammad Qāsim b. Dā'im al-Bardawānī (Composed in 1209/1794)

B. *Bid'atu 'l-mutūn* (بدعة المتون): Bengal ii 94.

66. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj (1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Farā'id* (شرح مختصر الفرائد): Bānkīpūr 1960 ii.

67. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn b. *Mullā* Muḥibb Allāh (1225/1810).

He was a descendant of Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī and a pupil of *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan.

[1. Farangī, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Bārī's Āthāru 'l-uwal 30, 3. Tadhkirah 211].

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI.)

B. *Sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (شرح مسلم الثبوت): Miftāḥ 736; Rāmpūr 274.

68. Mirzā Ḥasan 'Alī Ṣaghīr *Muḥaddith* of Lucknow (d. after 1226/1811).

[Tadhkirah 48].

C. *Tuḥfatu 'l-mushtāq fi 'n-nikāḥ wa 's-ṣudāq* (تحفة المشتاق في النكاح والصداق): Ibid.

69. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī al-Mujtāhid al-Shī'ī (1235/1819).

He was born in 1166/1752. He is the first Shī'ah scholar of India who rose to the position of *mujtahid.* In philosophical studies he was a pupil of Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Aḥmad Allāh Sandīlī and of Bāb Allāh b. Ḥamd Allāh Sandīlī. He completed his theological studies under Sayyid Alī Ṭabāṭabā'ī in India and under Sayyid Mahdī b. Sayyid Hidāyat Allāh at Mashhad. He has many works to his credit.

[1. Najum 346, 2. Tadhkirah 60; 3. Kashf, 4. Tadhkirah-i-bi-baha 146].

(For other works of his, refer to section V.)

A. i. *Asāsu 'l-uṣūl* (اساس الاصول). MSS. Āsafiyyah i 88 ; Bengal ii 92.

ii. *'Imādu 'l-Islām* known as *mir'atu 'l-'uqūl fi 'ilmi 'l-uṣūl* (عماد الاسلام الشهير بمرآة العقول في علم الاصول).

B. *Al-Sayfu 'l-māsiḥ* (السيف الماسح): India Office 1868.

C. i. *Sharḥ Bāb al-ṣawm min Ḥadīqati 'l-muttaqīn* (شرح باب الصوم من حديقة المتقين): Tadhkirah.

ii. *Sharḥ Bāb al-zakat min Ḥadīqati 'l-muttaqīn* (شرح باب الزكوة من حديقة المتقين): Ibid.

70. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Bharu 'l-'ulum (1235/1819).
(For other works of his, refer to sections II, IV, V, VI, VII.)

A. i. *Fawātiḥu 'r-Raḥmūt fī sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (فواتح الرحموت في شرح مسلم الثبوت). MSS : India Office 1494-95 ; Bānkipūr XIX (i) 1534-35 ; Rāmpūr 277 ; Āṣafiyyah i 100.

ii. *Risālah al- Arkānu 'l-arba'ah* (رسالة الاركان الاربعة). MSS. Būhār 167 ; Rāmpūr 196 ; Āṣafiyyah ii 1070.

iii. *Tanwīru 'l-manār sharḥ al-Manār* (تنوير المنار شرح المنار): Bri. Mus.

C *Sharḥ Fiqh-i-akbar* (شرح فقه اكبر) : Tadhkirah 123.

71. Amīn Allāh b. Muftī Muḥd. Akbar (1253/1837).

[1. Farangī 38, 2. 'Abdu 'l-Bārī's Āthāru 'l-uwal 8]

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā al-Tawḍīḥ wa al-Talwīḥ* (حاشية على التوضيح والتلويح) : Farangī 38.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (حاشية على شرح مسلم الثبوت) : Ibid.

72. Salāmat 'Alī Khān known as Ḥadhāqat Khān (wrote the undermentioned book in 1212/1797).

A. *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyār* (كتاب الاختيار).*

73. Muḥammad b. Isma'īl b. 'Abd al-Ghanī of Delhi (1246/1830).

*This book has been translated in Urdu by Mawlawi 'Abdu 's-Salam of A'zamgarh.

37

(For other works of his, see sections II, V, X.)

A. *Risālah fī Uṣūl al fiqh* (الرسالة في اصول الفقه): Bri. Mus.

74. Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Sindī (1257/1841).

(For other works of his, see section II.)

C. *Ta'wīlu 'l-anwār 'alā al-Durr al-mukhtār* (تاويل الانوار علي الدر المختار): Tadhkirah 202.

75. *Mullā* Nuru 'd-Dīn b. Ismā'īl of Rāmpur (1270/1853).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

B. *Kitāb al-Taqwā wa Risālah al-ḥusnā* (كتاب التقوى ورسالة الحسنى): Rāmpur 239.

76. Walī Allah b. Ḥabīb Allāh of Lucknow (1270/1853).

He was a descendant of *Mullā* Quṭb al-Shahīd. He wrote several books.

[**1.** Farangī, **2.** Ātharu 'l-uwal 33, **3.** Tadhkirah 252.]

(For other works of his, see sections V, VI, VIII.)

C. i. *Nafā'isu 'l-malakūt sharḥ Musallam al-thubūt* (نفائس الملكوت شرح مسلم الثبوت): Tadhkirah 252.

ii. *Ḥashiyah al-Hidāyah* (حاشية علي الهداية): Ibid.

77. Abu 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, V, VI.)

B. i. *Al-Wajīz al-rā'iq* (الوجيز الرائق): Bengal i 1086; India Office 1850.

ii. *Manāhij al-tadqīq wa ma'ārij al-taḥqīq* (مناهج التدقيق ومعارج التحقيق) : India Office 1851.

C. i. *Rawḍatu 'l-aḥkām* (روضة الاحكام) : Kashf.

ii. *Risālah fī annahū hal yajūzu li 'l-mutabaḥḥirīn fi 'l-ijtihād an ya'malū 'alā ra'yihim* (رسالة في انه هل يجوز للمتبحرين في الاجتهاد ان يعملوا على رائيهم) : Ibid.

78. Khādim Aḥmad b. *Mullā* Ḥaydar Farangī Maḥallī (1271/1854).

[**1.** Ḥadā'iq 746, **2** Farangī, **3** Āthāru'l-uwal 14, **4.** Tadhkirah 56]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Al-Sa'ādatu 'l-abadiyyah fī taḥqīq al-Dā'irat 'l-hindiyyah* (السعادة الابدية في تحقيق الدائرة الهندية): Delhi 578.

C. *Ta'līqāt 'alā Sharḥ al-Wiqāyah* (تعليقات على شرح الوقاية): Tadhkirah 56.

79. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Uthmānī of Labkan.

He was a pupil of *Mullā* 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'ulūm (1235/1819) and also of *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan.

[Tadhkirah 150]

(For other works of his, refer to section VI.)

B. *Zubdatu 'l-farā'iḍ* (زبدة الفرائض): Bānkīpūr 1960.

80. Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān (in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company).

A. *Jāmi' al-ta'zīrāt min Kutub al-thuqāt* (جامع التعزيرات من كتب الثقاة): Bri. Mus.

MSS, India Office 1718; Rāmpūr 181.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. 'Abdu 'l Ghanī 'Abbāsī of Gwalior.

B. *Asāsu 'l-uṣūl* (اساس الاصول): Rāmpūr 266.

2. *Ṣāḥib-zādah* Miyān Gul of Chamkan (in Peshāwar).

B. *Lā'iq al sam'ah fī taḥqīqi 'l-jumu'ah* (لايق السمعة في تحقيق الجمعة): Peshāwar 654.

3. Ni'mat Allāh b. Ṭāhir al-Nahrwālī.

B. *Ṣalātu 't-tarāwīḥ* (صلوة التراويح): Peshāwar 695.

4. Ṭaqiyyu 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Baqā Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qannawjī.

B. 1. *Muntahā al-murādāt* (منتهى المرادات): Miftāḥ 1079.

2. *Sharḥ Muntahā al-murādāt* (شرح منتهى المرادات): Ibid 951.

5. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī Samarqandī Shāhjahānpūrī.

B. *Al-'Uthūr ilā dār al-surūr* (العثور الي دار السرور): India Office 1719; Rāmpūr 214.

6. Shaykh Miyān of Lucknow.

B *Fatāwā mukhtaṣar Shāfi'ī* (فتاوى مختصر شافعي): Bengal 59.

7. Fatḥ Muhammad *Muḥaddith* b. Shaykh Īsā of Burhānpūr.

B. *Fatḥu 'l-madhāhib* (فتح المذاهب): Āṣafiyyah.

8. Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn Ghulām Muḥammad al- 'Abbāsī al-Awadī al-Bihārī.

B. *Rawḍatu 'l-anẓār* (روضة الانظار): India Office 1734.

C. *Mi'yāru 'l-afkār fī Kashifi 'l-asrār** (معيار الافكار في كشف الاسرار): Ibid.

*Dealing with Wudu' (وضوء)

SECTION IV

LITERATURE ON SŪFĪISM, ETHICS, ETC.

1. Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Din Aḥmad al-Khaṭib of Hānsī (659/1260).

He was a descendant of the great *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfah and one of the great *Khalīfahs* of Shaykh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shakargang. He founded a sub-branch, named after him, of the Chishtī Order.

[**1.** Ā'īn-i-Akbarī ii 219, **2.** Akhbār 67, **3.** Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 285, **4.** Tadhkirah 42.]

A. *Mulhamāt* (ملهمات).

2. Abū Bakr Isḥāq b. Tāju 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Multānī, called Ibn Tāj (after 736/1335).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, III.)

B. i. *Dhikr al-dhikri 'l-akbar* (ذكر الذكر الاكبر): Berlin 3349.

ii. *Nisbatu Khirqati 't-taṣawwuf* (نسبة خرقة التصوف): Ibid 3348.

3. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, IX.)

B. *Lawā'iḥu 'l-anwār fi 'l-radd 'alā man ankara 'ala 'l-'ārifīn min laṭā'ifi 'l-asrār* لوائح الانوار في الرد على من انكر على العارفين من لطائف الاسرار): Berlin 3322.

C. *Kitāb al-Taṣawwuf* (كتاب التصوف): Nuzhat 95.

4. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Shihābu 'd-Dīn al-Hamadhānī (786/1384).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

A. *Al-Awrādu 'l-fatḥiyyah* (الاوراد الفتحيه) : see Brockelmann ii 221.

MSS. Leid 2196; Loth 368-9; Stewart p. 175.

B. i. *Al-Mawaddah fī 'l-qurbā* (المودة في القربى): Bri. Mus. 890-1.

ii. *Manāzilu 's-sālikīn* (منازل السالكين): Ibid 890 v.

iii. *Risālah al-Qudsiyyah fī asrāri 'n-nuqṭati 'l-ḥissiyyati 'l-mushīrah ilā asrārī 'l-huwiyyati 'l-ghaybiyyah* (الرسالة القدسيه في اسرار النقطة الحسيه المشيرة الي اسرار الهوية الغيبيه): Loth 693 ii; Bri. Mus. 406; Cairo vii 548; India Office 1351.

iv. *Risālah al-Quddūsiyyat al-ummiyyah* (رسالة القدوسية الاميه): Delhi 1146; India Office 1352.

C. i. *Adābu 'l-murīdīn* (آداب المريدين): Tadhkirah 148.

ii. *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-ḥusnā* (شرح الاسماء الحسنى): Ibid.

iii. *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (شرح فصوص الحكم): Ṭabaqāt f. 13 b.

iv. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdah Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (شرح قصيدة ابن الفارض) : Ibid.

5. Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Sharafu 'd-Dīn of Delhi (795/1392).

B. ***'Aynu'l-Fuṣūṣ sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*** (عين الفصوص شرح الفصوص): Āṣafiyyah i 376.

6. Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū-darāz b. Sayyid Yūsuf Ḥusaynī Chishtī (825/1421).

He was a *Khalīfah* of Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Din Maḥmūd entitled *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*. He was born at Delhi in 720/1320. After the death of his spiritual leader, he went to the Deccan where his credit as a saint rose very high. He lived and died at Gulbargah. He composed several works.

[**1**. Akhbār, 129 **2**. Ṭabaqāt f. 43 b, **3**. Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 381, **4**. Beale 264, **5**. Tadhkirah 82.]

B. i. ***Sharḥ al-Risālatu 'l-Qushayriyyah*** (شرح الرسالة القشيرية): Āṣafiyyah i. 372.

ii. ***Risālah fī Mas'ilah ru'yati 'l-Bārī Ta'ālā*** (الرسالة في مسائل رؤية الباري تعالى): Delhi 1952.

7. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V.)

B. i. ***Dhawārifu 'l-laṭā'if fī sharḥ 'Awārifi l-ma'ārif*** (ذوارف اللطائف في شرح عوارف المعارف): Rampūr 344 ; Bankīpūr xiii 863.

ii. ***Mashra'u 'l-khuṣūṣ ilā ma'ān 'n-Nuṣūṣ*** (مشرع الخصوص الى معاني النصوص): India Office 1328.

iii. ***Sharḥ Adillati 't-tawḥīd*** (شرح ادلة التوحيد): India Office 1362.

C. i. ***Khuṣūṣu 'n ni'am fī sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam*** (خصوص النعم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Ḍamīru'l-insān (a biography of the author by S. Ibrāhim al-Madanī) f. 25. *

* For a description of the work, refer to the catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the library of the Bombay University, p. 182.

ii. *Kashf al-zulumāt* (كشف الظلمات): Ibid.

iii. *Istijlā'u 'l-baṣar* (استجلاء البصر): Ibid.

iv. *Nūru 'l-azhar* (نور الازهر): Ibid.

v. *Ḍaw'u 'l-azhar fī sharḥ Nūri 'l azhar* (ضوء الازهر في شرح نور الازهر): Ibid.

vi. *Ta'rīb-i-Lam'āt -i- 'Irāqī* (تعريب لمعات عراقي): Ibid.

vii. *Mir'ātu 'l-ḥaqā'iq ta'rīb Jām-i-jahānnumā* (مرآة الحقائق تعريب جام جهان نما): Ibid.

viii. *In'āmu 'l-Maliki 'l-'allām* (انعام الملك العلام): Ibid.

ix. *Imḥāḍu 'n-naṣīḥah* (امحاض النصيحة): Ibid.

x. *Risālah al-Wujūd fī sharḥ asmā'i 'l-Ma'būd* (الرسالة الوجود في شرح اسماء المعبود): Editor's preface to the Fiqh-i-Makhdūmī.

8. Sa'du 'd-Dīn Khayrabādī (882/1477).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

C. *Risālah al-Makkiyyah* (الرسالة المكية): Tadhkirah 76.

9. Zaynu 'd-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b Aḥmad al-Ma'barī (928/1521).

Born in 873/1468 at Kushan, he was a great scholar and an author of many works. He was a poet too. In addition to the works mentioned below, the following works are said to have been written by him*, none of which is known to the present author as extant:—

*Refer to an article by S. Aḥmad Allāh Qādiri, published in the Urdu periodical *Zamanah* (For January 1933, pp. 35-39).

Tuhfatu 'l-ahibbā' (تحفة الاحباء), *Shamsu 'l-hudā* (شمس الهدي), *Irshādu 'l-qāṣidīn* (ارشاد القاصدين), *Kitāb al-Ṣafā' min al-Shifā'* (كتاب الصفاء من الشفاء), *Tashīlu 'l-Kāfiyah* (تسهيل الكافية), *Kifāyatu 'l-farā'iḍ* (كفاية الفرائض), *Hāshiyah Alfiyyah Ibn Mālik* (حاشية الفية ابن مالك), *Hāshiyah Tuhfah Ibnu 'l-Wardī* (حاشية تحفة ابن الوردي), *Hāshiyah Irshād li Ibn Maqqarī* (حاشية ارشاد لابن مقري) and *Tahrīṣ ihlī 'l-īmān 'alā jihād 'abadati 's-ṣulbān* (تحريص اهل الايمان علي جهاد عبدة الصلبان).

[**1.** Al-sanā'u 'l-bāhir, takmīl al-Nūr al-sāfir f. 232-3, **2.** Brockelmann ii 221, **3.** The Zamānah for January 1933 p. 35].

A. *Hidāyatu 'l-adhkiyā' ilā ṭarīqi 'l-awliyā'* (هداية الاذكياء الي طريق الاولياء).

MSS. Cairo ii 135; iii 258.

C. i. *Murshidu 'ṭ-ṭullāb* (مرشد الطلاب): The Zamānah.

ii. *Sirāju 'l-qulūb* (سراج القلوب): Ibid.

10. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Zaynu 'd-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā b. Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ma'barī (in the tenth century).

He was the son of the above-mentioned Zaynu 'd-Dīn, the author of the *Hidāyatu 'l-adhkiyā'*. He wrote two commentaries on the above said work of his father: one is comprehensive, which is published and the other is brief.

A. *Maslaku 'l-atqiyā'* (مسلك الاتقياء في شرح هداية الاذكياء).

B. *Irshādu 'l-alibbā' ilā Hidāyati 'l-adhkiyā'* (ارشاد الالباء الي هداية الاذكياء): Āṣafiyyah iii 188.

11. 'Abdu 'l-Malik b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr, generally called Amān Allāh Pānīpatī (957/1550).

He was a pupil of Shaykh Mawdūd Lārī (d. 907/1501) and a disciple of Sh. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir of Jawnpūr. He is said to be the author of several books.

[1. Ṭabaqāt f. 159 b., 2. Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 424, 3. Tadhkirah 27.]

B. *Risālah fī ithbāti 'l-aḥadiyyat* (الرسالة في اثبات الاحدية): Āṣafiyyah i 628.

C. *Riāslah Ghayriyyah* (رسالة غيرية): Tadhkirah 27.

12. Mirak Shāh (956/1549).

[Ṭabaqāt f. 168 b]

C. *Sharḥ al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* (شرح الحصن الحصين): Ibid.

13. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz al Dihlawī b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir Jawnpūrī (975/1567).

Born in 898 at Jawnpūr, migrated to Delhi with his father while he was a baby. He received esoteric and exoteric education from his father.

[1. Ṭabaqāt folio 196, 2 Tadhkirah 121.]

C. *Risālah 'Ayniyyah* (رسالة عينيه في ترديد رسالة غيرية): Ibid.

14. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Muttaqī b. Ḥusāmu 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Malik Burhānpūrī (975/1567).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, XI.)

B. i. *Al-'Unwān fī sulūki 'n-niswān* (العنوان في سلوك النسوان): Cairo ii 96.

ii. *Al-Burhānu 'l-jaliyy fī ma'rifati 'l-waliyy* (البرهان الجلي في معرفة الولي): Berlin 3368.

iii. *Al-Mawāhibu 'l-'aliyyah fi 'l-jam' bayn al-ḥikami 'l Qur'āniyyah wa 'l- hadīthiyyah* (المواهب العلية في الجمع بين الحكم القرآنية والحديثية): Asad Āyā 1769, Cairo viii 347.

iv. *Jawāmi 'u 'l-kilam fi ' l-mawā'iẓ wa 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلم في المواعظ والحكم): Paris 1353; Berlin 8703; Loth 675-4. Cairo vii 348; Bengal E. 43; Rāmpūr 334; Bānkīpūr xiii 926 (an autograph copy); 'Alīgarh p. 115.

v. *Tatwīb sharḥi 'l-ḥikami 'l-'Aṭā'iyyah al-Musamma bi al-Tanbīh* (تبويب شرح الحكم العطائية المسمى بالتنبيه): Delhi 1855; India Office 13-7; Bengal i 139; Koprīlī 735.

vi. *Zādu 'ṭ-ṭālibīn* (زاد الطالبين): Bānkīpūr xiii 957 i.

vii. *Asrār u 'l-'ārifīn* (اسرار العارفين): Ibid 957 ii.

viii. *Ni'mu 'l-mi'yār wa 'l-miqyās li ma'rifat marātibi 'n-nās* (نعم المعيار والمقياس لمعرفة مراتب الناس): Loth 696 ii.

ix. *Fatḥu 'l-Jawād* (فتح الجواد): Āṣafiyyah ii 1594.

C. *Tabyīnu 't-ṭuruq* (تبيين الطرق): Tadhkirah 147.

15. *Qāḍī* 'Isā* b. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm of Gujarat (982/1574).

According to the *Nūr al-sāfir* he composed several works; but the titles of these works are not given.

*Please see No. 38 of this section also. Are these two authors the same person? Apparently not.

[1. Al-Nūr under the year 982. 2. Bānkīpūr xiii 936.]

A. *Risālah fī jawāzi 's-samā'* (الرسالة في جواز السماع): Bri-Mus.

B. *Risālah fi 't-tawakkul* (الرسالة في التوكل): Bānkīpūr xiii 936.

16. Muḥammad Māh Jawnpūrī (compiled in 986/1578).

[1. Tajallī 62, 2. Tadhkirah 276]

B. *Al-manthūratu 'l-munaẓẓamah* (المنثورة المنظمة): Āṣafiyyah i 390.

17. *Ṣadru 's-ṣudūr* Shaykh 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Sh. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu 'l- Quddūs of Gangūh (991/1583).

He was the tutor of the Emperor Akbar, and held the post of *Ṣadru 'ṣ-Ṣudūr* (chief justice). No *Ṣadr* during any former reign had so much favour. Akbar had such a regard for him that he would gladly put the Shaykh's shoes before him. At last, through the enmity of *Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk* 'Abd Allāh and others he fell in the Emperor's estimation, and began to be treated very differently. He was banished to Mecca, and after his return was murdered in 991/ 1583. In addition to the treatise, given below, he is said to have composed in Arabic another one refuting therein the adverse criticism, made by *Imām* Qaffāl Marwzī Shāfi'ī against *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfah ; but this work does not seem to be extant.

[1. Badā'unī iii 79, 2. Ma'ā thir al-Umarā ii 56, 3. Beale 11, 4. Tadhkirah 134.]

B. *Risālah dar waẓā'if wa ad'iyah* (رساله در وظائف و ادعيه): 'Alīgarh p. 120 (an autograph copy).

18. Zaynu 'd-Dīn b. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz al-Ma'barī (d. after 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, VIII.)

B. *Irshādu 'l-'ibād ilā sabīli 'r-rashād* (ارشاد العباد الي سبيل الرشاد): Rāmpūr 327.

19. Wajīhu 'd-Dīn 'Alawī Gujarātī (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IX.)

B. *Al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muḥammadiyyah* (الحقيقة المحمدية): India Office 1381.

20. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as Miyānjī (d. 1000/1591). *

This author is the son of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Miyānjī† whom we have already known as the author of التفسير المحمدي. He is a descendant of Kamālu 'd-Dīn who was a *Khalīfah* and a nephew (sister's son) of Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*.

[1. His own work Marājīnu 'l-'ushshāq (preface), 2. Brockelmann ii 420.]

B. i. *Nikātu 'l-ikhwān bi 'awn Allāhi 'l-maliki 'l-mannān* (نكات الاخوان بعون الله الملك المنان): Berlin 3105.

ii. *Marājīnu 'l-'ushshāq bayn abḥuri 'l-ashwāq* (مراجين العشاق بين ابحر الاشواق): Ibid 3106.

iii. *Al-Jam' bayna d-dunyā wa 'l-'uqbā bi 'ināyat Allāhi 'l-'ulyā* (الجمع بين الدنيا والعقبي بعناية الله العليا): Ibid 3145.

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*According to Ahlwardt, the author of the Berlin Catalogue; but 1100/1688 according to Brockelmann, which date seems to be wrong as it is not likely that this author survived his father Muhd. b. Ahmad Miyānji who died in 982 (see section I No. 8) for about a century and a quarter.

†Refer to pp. 16 and 236 of this work.

iv. *Risālah fī man 'arafa Allāh kalla lisānuh* (الرسالة في من عرف الله كل لسانه): Ibid 3231; India Office 1412.

v. *Jawāhiru 'l-'ulūm* (جواهر العلوم): Berlin 3232.

vi. *Risālah fī bayāni 'l-jihādi 'l-akbar* (الرسالة في بيان الجهاد الاكبر): India Office 1412.

vii. *Al-Ḥayrah fī dhāt Allāh* (الحيرة في ذات الله): Berlin 3233.

viii. *Tuḥfatu 's-sulūk al-mūṣilah ilā Allāh Maliki 'l-mulūk* (تحفة السلوك الموصلة الى الله ملك الملوك): Ibid 3285.

ix. *Risālah fī 'l-awrād* (الرسالة في الاوراد): Ibid 7382.

x. *Al-Muflis fī amān Allāh* (المفلس في امان الله): Ibid 3164.

21. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī (1004/1595).

[For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

A. *Mawāridu 'l-kilam wa silk durari 'l-ḥikam* (موارد الكلم وسلك درر الحكم): see Rāmpūr p. 620.

MSS. Nūr 'Uthmānī 3909; Rāghib Pāshā 1483; Asad Efendī Āyā 2924; Wienna 354; Edinburgh 30; Miftāḥ 1339; Rāmpūr 620; Bengal i 43; Peshāwar 1168; Āṣafiyyah ii 1212.

22. Ṣayyid Majdu 'd-Dīn, called Ṣibghat Allāh b. S. Rūḥ Allāh Ḥusaynī Barūjī Gujarātī (1015/1606).

He was the pupil and *Khalīfah* of Shaykh Wajīhu 'd-Dīn Gujarātī. He was a scholar and a saint, and busied himself in spreading the esoteric and exoteric education

in Gujarāt and Mālwah and twice went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah. He at last settled at the latter place where he died in 1015/1606).

[**1**. Ṭabaqāt f. 263, **2**. Ma'āthir 40, **3**. Subḥah 46, **4**. Muḥibbī ii 243, **5**. Abjad 898, **6**. Ḥadā'iq 401, **7**. Tadhkirah 91, **8**. Āzād 26.]

B. *Ta'rīb al-Jawāhir al-Khamsah li* Muḥd. b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn known as *Ghawth* of Gwalior (تعريب الجواهر الخمسه لمحمد خطير الدين المعروف بغوث گواليارى): Loth 671-2; Paris 1197; Cairo ii 78; Berlin; Rāmpur 334; Bengal A. f. 7.

C. i. *Kitābu 'l-Waḥdat* (كتاب الوحدة): Ma'āthir, Muḥibbī etc.

ii. *Irā'atu 'd-daqā'iq fī sharḥ mir'āti 'l-ḥaqā'iq* (اراءة الدقائق في شرح مرآة الحقائق): Ibid.

iii. *Mā lā yasa' li 'l-murīd tarkuhū kulla yawm min sunani 'l-qawm* (مالايسع للمريد تركه كل يوم من سنن القوم): Abjad 898.

23. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Uthmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sharḥ u 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Jawāhiru 'l-asrār sharḥu 'l-laṭīfati 'l-ghaybiyyah* (جواهر الاسرار شرح اللطيفة الغيبية): Ibid.

iii. *Maqāmātu 'l-'ārifīn* (مقامات العارفين): Ibid.

iv. *Al-Futuḥātu 'l-ghaybiyyah* (الفتوحات الغيبية): Ibid.

v. *Dastūru 's-sa'ādah fī bayāni 'l-walāyah* (دستور السعادة في بيان الولاية): Ibid.

vi. *Fayḍu 'l-Quddūs muntakhab Naqdi 'n-Nuṣūṣ* (فيض القدوس منتخب نقد النصوص): Ibid.

vii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Naqdi 'n-Nuṣūṣ* (حاشية على نقد النصوص): Ibid.

viii. *Jawāmi' kalim al-ṣūfī* (جوامع كلم الصوفي): Ibid.

ix. *Sharḥ Jawāhir khamsah* (شرح جواهر خمسة): Ibid.

x. *Fawātiḥu 'l-anwār* (فواتح الانوار): Ibid.

xi. *Fayḍu 'l-maliki 'l-mubīn fī sharḥ Ḥaqqi 'l-yaqīn* (فيض الملك المبين في شرح حق اليقين): Ibid.

xii. *Maṭāli'u 'l-anwāri 'l-khafiyy sharḥ Ajwibati 'l-waliyy* (مطالع الانوار الخفي شرح اجوبة الولي) : Ibid.

24. Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī **(1029/1619).**

He was a disciple of Shaykh Wajīhu 'd-Dīn 'Alawī Aḥmadabādī (d. 998/1589), and was the pupil of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Khaṭīru 'd-Din Ḥusaynī, commonly called al-Ghawth, the author of الجواهر الخمسة.

[**1.** Ṭabaqāt f. 265 b, **2.** Muḥibbī iv 110, **3.** Brockelmann ii 418.]

B. *Al-Tuḥfatu 'l-Mursalah ila 'n-nabiyy* (التحفة المرسلة الي النبي): Berlin 2040; Rien 245 xii; India Office 1383; Rāmpūr 332; Bengal ii 55; Āṣafiyyah i 362; Stewart p. 47.

25. Shaykh Aḥmad Sarhindī b. Sh 'Abu 'l-Aḥad al-Fārūqī, entitled *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī* (1034/1624).

He is one of the greatest Muslim saints that India has ever produced. He was born at Sarhind in 971/1563. He completed his education under Kamālu 'd-Dīn Kashmīrī, Ya'qūb Kashmīrī and 'Abdu r-Raḥmān *Muḥaddith*. Then he went to Delhi where he became the disciple of Khwājah Bāqī bi Allāh, a celebrated saint of Delhi, and soon his reputation as a great saint rose very high. As he infused a new life in the Muslims of the second Millennium, he is rightly called *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī*.

[**1.** Ṭabaqāt b 267, **2.** Zubdatu 'l-maqāmāt (a most authentic biography of the saint), **3.** Subḥah 47, **4.** Abjad 898, **5.** Ḥadā'iq 404, **6.** Khazīnatu 's-ṣafā' 607, **7.** Beale 42, **8.** Tadhkirah 10, **9.** Qāmus i 67.]

(For another work of his, see section V.)

C. *Ta'līqātu 'l-'Awārif* (تعليقات العوارف): Tadhkirah 12.

26. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūs Aḥmadābādī (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V, VIII, X.)

A. *Ta'rīfu 'l-aḥyā' bi faḍā'ili 'l-iḥyā'* (تعريف الاحياء بفضائل الاحياء): Printed on the margin of اتحاف السادة المتقين لمرتضى الزبيدي in Egypt. MS. Berlin 1713

B. i. *Rūḥu 'r-rāḥ wa rāḥu 'l-arwāḥ* (روح الراح وراح الارواح): Būhār 126.

ii. ***Al-Maqālatu 'n-nāfi'ah wa 'r-risālatu 'l-jāmi'ah*** (المقالة النافعة و الرسالة الجامعة): Ibid. 457 i.

iii. ***Al-Qawlu 'l-jāmi' fī bayāni 'l-'ilmi 'n-nāfi'*** (القول الجامع في بيان العلم النافع): Ibid. 457 ii.

iv. *Bughyatu 'l-mustafīd bi sharḥ Tuḥfati 'l-murīd* (بغية المستفيد بشرح تحفة المريد): Ibid. 457 iii.

v. *Al-Zahru 'l-bāsim* (الزهر الباسم): Berlin 3337.

vi. *Asbābu 'n-najāt wa 'n-najāḥ fī adhkāri 'l-masā' wa 's-ṣabāḥ* (اسباب النجاة و النجاح في اذكار المساء و الصباح): Ibid. 3718.

vii. *Ghāyatu 'l-qarab fī sharḥ nihāyati 't-ṭalab* (غاية القرب في شرح نهاية الطلب): Ibid. 3421.

viii. *Nafā'isu 'l-anfās fī nisbati 'l-khirqah wa 'l-ilbās* (نفائس الانفاس في نسبة الخرقة و الالباس): India Office 1388.

ix. *Al-Durru 'l-yatīm fī bayāni 'l-muhimm min 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (الدر اليتيم في بيان المهم من علوم الدين): Berlin 1844.

x. *Ṣūfīistic Muwashshaḥ* (موشح): Ibid. 3422.

xi. *Ṣūfīistic Rajaz* (رجز): Ibid. 8161 i.

C. i. *Al-Futūḥātu 'l-quddūsiyyah fī 'l-khirqati 'l-'Aydarūsiyyah* (الفتوحات القدوسية في الخرقة العيدروسية): his autobiography

ii. *Al-Rawḍu 'l-'arīḍ wa 'l-fayḍu 'l-mustafīḍ* (الروض العريض و الفيض المستفيض): Ibid.

27. Shaykh *al-ḥājj* 'Abdu 'l-Karīm Lahūrī Anṣārī b. Sh. Makhdūmu 'l-mulk 'Abd Allāh (1041/1635).*

He was a scholar and a saint. He performed the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz in company of his father when

*According to Brockelmann he died in 1060/1651.

he was banished from India by the Emperor Akbar. When his father died of poison, he went to Lahore and engaged himself in the spiritual uplift of the people. He wrote in Persian a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣu 'l-ḥikam*.

[1. Khazīnat 'ṣ-ṣafā' 470, 2 Tadhkirah 131, 3. Brockelmann ii. 420.]

B. i. *Risālah fī 't-Taṣawwuf* (الرسالة في التصوف): Āṣafiyyah i 366.

ii. *Waṣiyyah* (وصية): Berlin 4018.

iii. *Muntahā maṭālib al-sālikīn* (منتهى مطالب السالكين): Ibid. 3108.

iv. *'Aqā'idu 'l-muwaḥḥidīn* (عقائد الموحدين): Ibid. 1848.

28. Tāju 'd-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Sulṭān al Hindī (1050/1640).

He was an eminent *Ṣūfī* scholar of India, who settled permanently at Mecca where his reputation as a great *Ṣūfī* spread far and wide. While in India, he received education at Ajmer, Jawnpur, Nāgūr and Kashmīr. He was first introduced to the Chishtiyyah Order by Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Nāgūrī (d. 985/1577); but afterwards he was admitted to the Naqshbandiyyah Order by Bāqī Billāh. Soon after the completion of his spiritual training, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he died in 1050/1640, leaving behind a large number of disciples.

[1. Muḥibbī i 474, 2. Brockelmann ii 419, 3. Tadhkirah 35, 4. Bānkīpūr xiii 942.]

B. i. *Ādābu 'l-murīdīn* (آداب المريدين): Berlin 3198; Cairo vii 312; Bengal e. I.

ii. *Risālah fī sulūk khulāṣati 's-sādāti 'l-naqshbandiyyati 's-siddīqiyyah* (الرسالة فی سلوک خلاصة السادات النقشبندیة الصدیقیة): Cairo vii 312; Berlin 2186; Loth 1038; Bankipur xiii 942; India Office 1404.

iii. *Ta'rīb Rashḥāti 'ayni 'l-ḥayāt* (تعریب رشحات عین الحیاة): Cairo ii 75.

iv. *Ta'rīb Nafḥāti 'l-uns min ḥaḍarāti 'l-quds.* (تعریب نفحات الانس من حضرات القدس): Ibid.

C. *Jāmi'u 'l-fawā'id* (جامع الفوائد): Muḥibbī i 474.

29. Shaykh **'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi (1052/1642).**

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, V, VI, VIII.)

A. *Zubdatu 'l-asrār wa zubdatu 'l-āthār* (زبدة الاسرار و زبدة الآثار): Āṣafiyyah i 370.

B. i. *Risālah fī Bayān qawl qadamī hādhā 'alā raqabati kulli waliyy Allāh* (الرسالة فی بیان قول قدمی هذا علی رقبة کل ولی الله): Rāmpūr 339.

ii. *Dafātir* (دفاتر): Ibid. 149.

30. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

(For other works of his see sections I, VI.)

A. *Al-Taswiyah* (التسویة): MSS. Bengal i 191; in the possession of the present representative of his family at Allahabad.

B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): Ibid.

ii. *Anfāsu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (انفاس الخواص)*: Rāmpur 329; India Office 1279; Bānkīpur xiii 883.

iii. *Akhaṣṣu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (اخص الخواص): Rāmpur 322.

iv. *Maghāliṭu 'l-'āmmah* (مغالطة العامه): Rāmpur 366; India Office 1395.

v. *'Aqā'idu 'l-khawāṣṣ* (عقائد الخواص): Nadhīr Aḥmad 30[illegible]; India Office 1392.

31. Sayyid Aḥmad Gīsu-daraz b. Sayyid Muḥammad of Kalpī (1058/1648).

He was a disciple of his father and was well versed in both secular and spiritual learning.

[Tadhkirah **81.**]

C. *Jawāmi'u 'l-kalim fī Sharḥi 'l-asmā'i 'l-ḥusnā* (جوامع الكلم في شرح الاسماء الحسنى): Ibid.

32. Mulla Maḥmud b. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shāh Muḥammad al-Fāruqī of Jawnpur (1062/1651).

First he received education from his grandfather Shāh Muḥammad. Then he studied under Muḥammad Afḍal Jawnpūrī and soon became a source of pride to his teacher. He was chiefly interested in Philosophy.

[**1.** Ma'āthir 202, **2.** Subḥah 53, **3.** Abjad 901, **4.** Ārā'ish-i-maḥfil 92, **5.** Tajallī 48, **6.** Ḥadā'iq 413,

*This work is not a commentary on the same author's own abridgment of the *Fususu 'l-hikam* as mentioned in the Bankipur Catalogue xiii under No. 883 and also in the India Office Catalogue under No. 1279. The present author has campared it with the *Fusus* and has found both of them altogether different works.

7. Maḥbūb 387, **8.** Tadhkirah 22 , **9.** Brockelmann ii 420, **10.** Beale, 232 **11** Āzād, 22, **12.** Qāmus ii 206.)

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. *Hirzu 'l-īmān fī radd kitāb 'al-Taswiyah* (حرزالايمان في رد كتاب التسوية): Rāmpur 335.

33. *Mullā* 'Iṣmat Allāh b. A'zam[1] b. 'Abdu' r-Rasul of Sahāranpur (after 1090/1679.)[2]

He, though blind, was an eminent scholar of his age, was chiefly interested in mathematics and astronomy and has several works to his credit.

[**1.** Ma'āthir 205, **2** Subḥah 52, **3.** Abjad 900, **4.** Ḥadā'iq 407, **5.** Beale 83, **6** Tadhkirah 140, **7.** Maḥbūb 177, **8.** Āzād 31, **9.** Qāmūs ii 85.]

(For other works of his, see sections VII, IX.)

B. *Jaddu 'l-ghanā' fi ḥurmati 'l-ghinā'* (جد الغناء في حرمة الغناء):[3] Āṣafiyyah ii 1084; India Office 1855, where the title is not mentioned.

34. Muḥammad b. Sayyid Muḥammad al-Gada'i al-Qannawjī al-Rasūldār (in the 11th century A. H.)

His father was one of the teachers of Awrangzib (1068-1118/1658-1707).

[Bānkipūr 946.]

B. *Risālah fi 't-Taṣawwuf* (الرسالة في التصوف): Ibid.

35. Ṣadru' d-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b Ma'ṣum, commonly called Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm al-Madanī (1117/1705).

For a short account of his, refer to p. 158.

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1. It may be 'Azmat Allah (عظمة الله).
2. Regarding this date, refer to the footnote on p. 88 of this work.
3. The word is *Jadd* and not *hadd*, refer to p. 88.

[1. ‘Amalu ’l-āmil 51, 2. Rawḍatu ’l-jannāt 421, 3. Subḥah 85, 4. Nujūm 176, 5. Wüestenfeld No. 589, 6. Rieu (Arabic) No. 996, 7. Brockelmann ii. 421, 8. Būhār No. 72, 9. Āzād 49, 10. Tadhkirah-i-bi-bahā 417.

(For other works of his, see sections VIII, IX.)

A. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīfah-i-Sajjādiyyah*, entitled *Riyāḍ al-sālikīn* (شرح صحيفه سجاديه الموسوم برياض السالكين): lithographed in Persia. MSS. Āṣafiyyah iii 20; Būhār 72.

36. Muḥammad Afḍal of Allahabad (1124/1712).

Born at Sayyidpūr (in district Ghāzīpūr) in 1038, He started his education under Mullā Nūru’d-Dīn. Then he left for Kālpī where he became a disciple of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad. Afterwards he settled at Allahabad. He composed several works.

[Tadhkirah 181.]

B *Fawzu ’n-najāt ‘ani ’l-khidhlān bi ma‘unati taḥqīqāt ahli ’l- ‘irfān* (فوزالنجاة عن الخذلان بمعونة تحقيقات اهل العرفان): ‘Alīgarh 117.

C. i *Sharḥu ’l-Fuṣūṣ* (شرح الفصوص): Tadhkirah 18.

ii. *Fatḥu ’l-ighlāq* (فتح الاغلاق): Ibid

37. ‘Azīz Allāh b Muḥammad Murād Anṣārī (in the time of Farrukh-siyar—1126-1131/1714-1718).

B. ***Al-Thawāqibu*** *’s-sab‘ah* (الثواقب السبعة): Delhi 339.

38. Shaykh Muḥammad Īsā* b. al-Karīm al-Sindī al-Burhānpūrī (compiled in 1137/1725).

[See India Office 1856.]

*Please see No. 15 of this section also. Are these two authors the same person? Apparently not.

B. *Risālah fī Ikhtilāf ḥurmati 's-samā' wa 'l-ghinā'* (الرسالة في اختلاف حرمة السماع و الغناء): India Office 1856 and 1858[1].

39. Abu l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu 'l Hādī al-Sindī (1138/1725).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III.)

B. *Al-Futūḥātu 'n-nabawiyyah* (الفتوحات النبوية): Bengal i 739.

40. Mullā 'Alī Aṣghar Qannawjī (1140/1727).

(For other works of his, see sections I, XI.)

B. *Jawāmi'u 'l-kalam fī sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلم في شرح فصوص الحكم): India Office 1278.

C. i. *Tabṣiratu 'l-madārij* (تبصرة المدارج): Tadhkirah 140.

ii. *Al-Laṭā'ifu 'l-'aliyyah fi 'l-ma'ārifi 'l-ilāhiyyah* (اللطائف العلية في المعارف الالهية): Ibid.

41. Shāh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (1143/1730)[2]

His ancestors were masons, but he engaged himself in the spiritual pursuits. After completing his education in India, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah where he became a disciple of Shaykh Yaḥyā Madanī. Then he returned to India and settled at Delhi. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Qur'ān*.

[1. Mā 'āthir 42, 2. Ḥadāiq 438, 3. Tadhkirah 172.]

1. According to the India Office Catalogue, MSS. Nos 1856 and 1858 are different works by different authors; but it is wrong, as the introductions of both the treatises, given in the Catalogue are almost identical with each other. Moreover, the present writer personally saw both the MSS. at the India Office Library and found them exactly the one and the same.

2. According to the Tadhkirah 1140/1727.

(For another work of his, see section VII.)

B. *Sawā'u 's-sabīl*(سواء السبيل): Rāmpūr 345.

42. Shāh Khūb Allāh of Allahabad (1144/1731).

(For other works of his, refer to sections III, V.)

C. i. *Al-Kalāmu 'l-mufīd fī mā yat'allaqu bi 'sh-shaykh wa 'l-murīd* (الكلام المفيد في مايتعلق بالشيخ و المريد): Tadhkirah 59.

ii. *Al-Kalimatu 'l-mu'talifah fi 'l-maqāṣidi 'l-mukhtalifah* (الكلمة المؤتلفة في المقاصد المختلفة): Ibid.

iii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-a'māl* (خلاصة الاعمال): Ibid.

43. Nūru 'd-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, VI, IX.)

C. *Ṭarīqatu 'l-umam fī sharḥ 'Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (طريقة الامم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Tadhkirah 245.

44. A certain scholar dedicated to Nawwāb Anwaru 'd-Dīn Khān of Carnatic (d. 1162/1748).

B. *Jawāmi'u 'l-kalīm fi sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (جوامع الكلم في شرح فصوص الحكم): Loth 651.

45. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (1163/1749).

(For other works of his, see section II.)

C. *Sharḥ al-Hikami 'l-'aṭā'iyyah* (شرح الحكم العطائية): Muḥibbī iv 34.

46. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, X, XI.)

A. i. *Fuyūḍu 'l-ḥaramayn* (فيوض الحرمين) : MS. Rāmpūr 356.

ii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-jamīl fī sawā'i 's-sabīl* (القول الجميل في سواء السبيل) : MSS. Berlin 3396; Rāmpūr 357; Āṣafiyyah i 380.

iii. *Al-Tafhīmātu 'l-ilāhiyyah* (التفهيمات الالهية).*

iv. *Al-Intibāh fī salāsil awliyā' Allāh* (الانتباه في سلاسل اولياء الله).

B. i. *Risālah fī mas'ilah Waḥdat 'l-wujūd* (رسالة في مسئلة وحدة الوجود) : Rāmpūr 343; Nadwah 397.

ii. *Al-Budūru 'l-bāzighah* (البدور البازغة) : Āṣafiyyah iv 172.

47. 'Alīm Allāh of Lahore (1176/1762).

[Murādī iii 260.]

B. *Al-Futūḥātu 'l-unsiyyah fī taḥqīqāti 'r-rumūzi 'ṣ-ṣūfiyyah* (الفتوحات الانسية في تحقيقات الرموز الصوفية) : Qilij 'Alī 617.

48. Muḥammad Panāh of Aḥmadābād (composed in 1180/1766).

B. *Naṣīḥat 'Ibād Allāh wa ummati rasūl Allāh* (نصيحة عباد الله و امة رسول الله): India Office 1862.

49. Qamaru 'd-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Munīb Allāh of Awrangābād (1193/1779).

Born in 1120/1708, he completed his education under the eminent scholars of the country and was introduced by his father into the Naqshbandiyyah Order. Then he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah. He died at Awrangābād.

*Some parts of this work are in Persian.

[**1.** Subḥah 101, **2.** Abjad 919, **3.** Ḥadā'iq 452, **4.** Tadhkirah 170, **5.** Āzād 63.]

B. i. *Maẓharu 'n-nūr* (مظهر النور): Āṣafiyyah i. 388.

ii. *Risālah fi taḥqīqi 'l-wujūd* (الرسالة في تحقيق الوجود): Rāmpūr 340.

50. Ṣūfī b. Jawhar al-Jhanjhānī (in the 12th century).

Nothing concerning him seems to be known except that he was a resident of Jhanjhāna and that he was a scholar of the 12th century.

[See Bānkīpūr 998 I.]

B. *Al-Talwīḥātu 's-ṣūfiyyah* (التلويحات الصوفية): Ibid.

51. Amīr Allāh b. Munīr Allāh al-Bihārī (in the 12th century).

Concerning him, nothing seems to be known except that he is the author of the two undermentioned works, the former of which he dedicated to Khān-i-dawrān Bahādur Shamsu 'd-Dawlah, who was ***Amīru 'l-umarā'*** at the court of the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and was killed in 1151/1738.

[See India Office 1403.]

B. *Taḥlīl mu'ḍilāt Ibn al-'Arabī* (تحليل معضلات ابن العربي): Ibid.

C. ***Ashi''ah rabbāniyyah fī tazwīq waḥdati 'l-wujūd*** (اشعة ربانية في تزويق وحدة الوجود): Ibid.

52. Sayyid Nūru 'l-Hudā b. Sayyid Qamaru 'd-Dīn Awrangabādī (born in 1153/1740).

He was a pupil and disciple of his own father. He accompanied his father when he went on the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz.

[Tadhkirah 246.]

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mazhari 'n-nūr* (حاشية علي مظاهر النور) : Āṣafiyyah i 388.

53. Shāh Ghulām Yaḥyā (12th century).

He was a disciple of Mirzā Jān-jānān (d. 1195/1781).

B. *Waḥdatu 'l-wujūd* (وحدة الوجود): Nadwah 398.

54. Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥd. b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq known as Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1791).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VIII, IX.)

A. i. *Itḥāfu 's-sādāti 'l-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ Iḥyā' 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (اتحاف السادات المتقين بشرح احياء علوم الدين) : Bri. Mus. MS. Munich 150.

ii. *Al-Nafḥatu 'l-'quddūsiyyah li-wāsilah bid'ati 'l- 'aydarūsiyyah* (النفحة القدوسية لواسطة بضعة العيدروسية) : * see Ma'ārif A'ẓamgarh for March 1927, pp. 168-175.

55. Shaykh Salām Allāh b. Shaykhu 'l-Islām Rāmpūrī (1229/1813).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

A. *Kashfu 'l-qinā' 'an ibāḥati 's-samā'* (كشف القناع عن اباحة السماع): Bri. Mus.

MS. India Office 1857.

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*It has been translated into Urdu by Sayyid Manazir Ahsan Gilani (مناظر احسن گیلانی).

56. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'ulūm of Lucknow (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, refer to sections II, III, V, VI, VII.)

B. i. *Sharḥ al-Faṣṣi 'n-Nūḥī min Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (شرح النص النوحي من فصوص الحكم): Rāmpūr 348.

ii. *Risālah al-Ṣughrā* (رسالة الصغرى): Ibid. 342.

57. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1828).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, V, VI VIII, X, XI.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Qawli 'l-jamīl* (حاشية على القول الجميل): Rāmpūr 340.

58. Khwājah Sayyid Āl-i-Aḥmad Shāh b. Quṭb al-Awliyā' (1259/1843).

C. *Al-Bunyānu 'l marṣūṣ fī sharḥ Fuṣūṣi 'l-ḥikam* (البنيان المرصوص فى شرح فصوص الحكم): Ḥayātu 'l-'ulamā' pp. 22-23.

59. Shāh Aḥmad Sa'īd Mujaddidī b. Shāh Abū Sa'īd mujaddidī (1272/1855).

Born in 1217/1802, he was a pupil of Mawlawī Faḍl-i-Imām, *muftī* Sharafu 'd-Dīn and Rashīdu 'd-Dīn, and a disciple of Shāh Ghulām 'Alī Mujaddidī. During the mutiny of 1857 he went with his family on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah where he settled.

[Khazīnatu 'l-aṣfiyā' 709]

B. i. *Risālah fi 't-taṣawwuf* (الرسالة في التصوف): Rāmpūr 340.

ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'ḍ-ḍābiṭah fī ithbāti 'r-rābiṭah* (الفوائد الضابطة في اثبات الرابطة): Ibid 356.

9. Shāh 'Abdu'r-Rasūl b. Muhammad Khān Bījāpūrī.

B. i. *Al-Irshād fi sulūki 'ṭ-ṭarīq wa l-wuṣūl ilā 'ālami 's-sadād* (الارشاد في سلوک الطريق و الوصول الی عالم السداد) : India Office 1414.

ii. *Tabṣirah* (تبصره) : Ibid. 1415.

iii. *Sharḥ Tabṣirah* (شرح تبصره) : Ibid. 1916.

iv. *Rawḍatu 'l-anwār* (روضة الانوار) : Būhār 134.

10. Muhammad[1] b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī.

B. i. *Kitāb Ḥukmi 'sh-shawārid* (كتاب حكم الشوارد)[2] : 'Āshir 492.

ii. *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (كتاب التوحيد): Nadwah 99.

11. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Zayd al-Sindī.

B. *Irshādu 'l-mulūk li sadādi 's-sulūk* (ارشاد الملوک اسداد السلوک): Āyā Ṣūfiyah 2842.

12. 'Abd Allāh Multānī.[3]

Risālah fi 't-taṣawwuf (الرسالة في التصوف) : Delhi 1881.

13. Fāḍil b. 'Ārif al-Dihlawī al-Safidanī.

B. *Al-Jawāhiru 'l-muḍī'ah fī ḥilyati Khayri 'l-bariyyah* (الجواهر المضيئة في حلية خير البرية) : (a Prayer for the Prophet, mentioning all his bodily and mental qualities): Loth 366.

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1. He may be the brother of رحمة الله بن عبدالله سندی who died in 993/1585 (see No. 23 of the section on *Fiqh* literature).

2. In the Catalogue this work is mentioned under تصوف.

3. He may be عبدالله سندی, father of رحمة الله سندی (d. 993/1583).

SECTION V

DOGMA, SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY AND MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS TOPICS

1. Ṣafiyyu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad Raḥīm b. Muḥammad 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm al-Hindī (715/1315).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

C. *Al-Zubdah fi 'ilmi 'l-Kalām* (الزبدة في علم الكلام): Abjad 806.

2. Abū Ḥafṣ Sirāju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b Isḥāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Ṭaḥāwiyyah* (شرح العقائد الطحاوية): Cairo ii 30 ; Mihrshāh 294.

3. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (835/1431).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III IV.)

B. *Al-Ḍaw'u 'l-azhar fī sharḥi 'l-nūr 'l-azhar fī kashfi 'l-qaḍā' wa 'l-qadar* * (الضوء الاظهر في شرح النور الازهر في كشف القضاء و القدر): Delhi 944.

4. *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar Zāwulī Dawlatābādī (849/1445).

* Both the text and the commentary have been, by an oversight, mentioned also under C. No. 7 of the previous section. (See page 296 *Supra*). There is a little difference about the spelling of the word الاظهر also. In the Delhi MS. it is with ظ, while it is with ز according to the Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Bombay University, p. 181. I think the former spelling is correct.

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX, X.)

B. *Al-'Aqā'idu 'l-Islāmiyyah* (العقائد الاسلامية): Rāmpūr 314.

5. Khaṭīb Abu 'l-Faḍl Gāzrunī Gujarāti (959/1551).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IX.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية على شرح المواقف) : Peshāwar 856.

6. *Mullā* 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn b. *Shaykh* Manṣūr of Lahore (969/1561).

He was a scholar, first attached to Khān-Khānān and then to the court of Akbar himself.

[Tadhkirah 141.]

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'id* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد) : Ibid.

7. *Makhdūmu 'l-mulk* 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *'Iṣmatu 'l-anbiyā'* (عصمة الانبياء) : Bānkīpūr x 569.

C. *Kashfu 'l-ghummah** (كشف الغمة) : Ḥadā'iq 397.

8. *Qāḍī* Niẓām Badakhshī (992/1584).

A pupil of 'Iṣāmu 'd-Dīn and *Mullā* Sa'īd, he was an eminent scholar of Badakhshān Coming to India in 982 /1574, he joined the service of Akbar, the great, who conferred upon him first the title of *Qāḍī Khān* and then *Ghāzī Khān*.

*According to the *Tadhkirah* (p. 26), it is by Ilah-dad Khan Sultanpuri (الهداد خان سلطان پوری).

[Tadhkirah 242.]

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-'Aqā'id* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد): Tadhkirah 242.

ii. *Risālah fī 'Ilmi 'l-Kalām* (الرسالة في علم الكلام): Ibid.

9. Wajību 'd-Dīn 'Alawī of Gujarāt (998-1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, IX.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 't-Tajrīd* (الحاشية على التجريد): Tadhkirah 250.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-'Aqā'id li 't-Taftāzānī* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد للتفتازاني): Ibid.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Hāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية القديمة): Ibid.

10. Ilāh-dād Khān of Sulṭānpūr (1006/1597).

He was a pupil of *Makhdūmu 'l-mulk* 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī. He held the posts of *ṣadr* and *qāḍī* in the Punjab and at Allahabad respectively during the reign of Akbar, the great.

[**1.** Badā'ūnī iii 117, **2.** Ṭabaqāt f. 215 b, **3.** Tadhkirah 26.]

C. *Kashfu 'l-ghummah* (كشف الغمة):* Tadhkirah 26.

11. *Qāḍī* Nūr Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf Shustrī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, VI, IX.)

* According to the حدائق (p. 397) the author of this work is 'Abd Allah of Sultanpur.

B. i. *Iḥqāqu l-ḥaqq wa ibṭālu 'l-bāṭil* (احقاق الحق و ابطال الباطل) : Buhār 115 ; Bānkīpūr 623; Bengal A. E. I; Rāmpūr 281.

ii. *Maṣā 'ibu 'n-nawāṣib* (مصائب النواصب): Āṣafiyyah 1326; Buhār 114.

iii. *Al-Sawārimu 'l- muḥriqah*(الصوارم المحرقة): Buhār 112.

iv. *Muḥākamāt* (محاكمات): 'Alīgarh 112.

C. i. *Unsu 't-tawḥīd* (انس التوحيد): Kashfu 'l-ḥujub.

ii. *Hāshiyatu 'l-anmūdhaj* (حاشية الانموذج) : Ibid.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiya-ti 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية القديمة): Ibid.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 't-Tajrīd* (الحاشية على شرح التجريد): Ibid.

v. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية على شرح المواقف): Ibid.

vi. *Risālah fī ann 'l-wujūd lā mithla lahū* (الرسالة في ان الوجود لا مثل له): Ibid.

vii. *Risālah fī ḥaqīqati 'l-'iṣmah* (الرسالة في حقيقة العصمة): Ibid.

viii. *Risālah fi raddi riṣālati 'd-Dawwānī fī īmān fir'awn* (الرسالة في رد رسالة الدواني في ايمان فرعون): Ibid.

ix. *Raf'u 'l-qadar* (رفع القدر): Ibid.

x. *Al-Laṭā'if* (اللطائف): Ibid.

xi. *Mwā'idu 'l-in'ām* (موائد الانعام): Ibid.

xii. *Al-Naẓaru 's-salīm* (النظر السليم): Ibid.

xiii. *Al-Nūru 'l-anwar wa 'n-nawru 'l-azhar* (النور الانور و النور الازهر): Ibid.

12. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, VI, IX, X.)

C. i. *Sawāṭi'u 'l-ilhām, sharḥ Tahdhībi 'l-kalām* (سواطع الالهام شرح تهذيب الكلام): Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Risālah fī imān fir'awn* (الرسالة في ايمان فرعون): Ibid.

iii. *Nāsikhu 't-tanāsukh* (ناسخ التناسخ): Ibid.

13. Shaykh Aḥmad Sarhindī *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-thānī* (1034/1624).

(For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Risālah fī ithbāti 'n-nubuwwah* (الرسالة في اثبات النبوة): Delhi 113/C.

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد الجلالي): Tadhkirah 12.

14. Abū Bakr Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūs (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, VIII, X.)

B. i. *Al-I'tiqādiyyah* (الاعتقادية): Buhār 454.

ii. *Kitābu 'l-minhāj ilā ma'rifati 'l-mi'rāj* (كتاب المنهاج الى معرفة المعراج): Berlin 2609.

iii. *Ṣafwatu 'l-ṣafwah fī bayān aḥkāmi 'l-qahwah* (صفوة الصفوة في بيان احكام القهوة): Ibid. 5479.

iv. *Al-Durru 'th-thamīn fī bayāni 'l-muhīm min 'ulūmi 'd-dīn* (الدر الثمين في بيان المهم من علوم الدين):* Būhār 453 i.

15. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (1052/1642).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, VI, VII.)

B. i. *Fatḥu 'l-mannān fī madhhabi 'n-Nu'-mān* (فتح المنان في مذهب النعمان): Āṣafiyyah ii 1320.

ii. *Al-Fawā'id* (الفوائد): Miftāḥ 2783.

16. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI, IX.)

A. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyah al-Khayālī 'alā sharḥ Taftāzānī 'ala 'l-'Aqā'idi 'n-Nasafiyyah* (الحاشية على حاشية الخيالي على شرح تفتازاني على العقائد النسفية):

MSS. Loth 397-8; Gotha 675; Būhār 107; Nadwah 90; Āṣafiyyah ii 1298; Bānkīpūr 509; Bengal i 298; Bengal A.E. 21; Cairo ii 18; Peshāwar 811; Constantinople (in several libraries).

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالي):

* The same work with a little difference in the title has been also mentioned in the previous section under No. 26, (see p. 305).

MSS. Bengal A. E. 20; Salīmiyyah 345; Lālah lī 2202; Jāmi' Sharīfī 405; Sulaymāniyyah 750; As'ad Efendī madrasah 26; Qilij 519; Āṣafiyyah ii 1300; Bengal I 308; Bānkīpūr 554; Rāmpūr Nos. 111-13.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (حاشية على شرح المواقف): see Mu'jam 680.

MSS. Loth 449; Nūr 'Uthmānī 2131; Bānkīpūr 538-9; Lālah lī 2224; Walī al-Dīn 2014; Āṣafiyyah ii 1300; iv 538. Nadwah 99.

B. i. *Risālah Khāqāniyyah*, also called *al-Durru 'th-thamīn fī ithbāt 'ilm wājib ta'ālā* (الرسالة الخاقانية الموسومة بالدر الثمين في اثبات علم واجب تعالي): Berlin 2344; Bengal II 42; Delhi 1877.

ii. *Zubdatu 'l-afkār* (زبدة الافكار): see Brockelmann ii 417.

17. *Mullā* Muḥammad Muḥsin (1081/1670).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'id* (حاشية على شرح العقائد):

18. *Mullā* Ḥasan b. *Mullā* Ḥusayn of Madras (1082/1671).

B. *Raddu 'l-mukābirah* (رد المكابرة): Āṣafiyyah ii 1304.

19. 'Abdu 'l-Bāqī b. Ghawth al-Islām al-Ṣiddīqī of Jawnpūr (1084/1673).

He was a well known scholar of Jawnpūr who studied under *Mullā* Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī (d. 1062/1651).

[**1.** Farḥat, **2.** Tajallī 65, **3.** Maḥbūb 18, **4.** Tadhkirah 268.]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Sharḥ Kalimāti 't-tawḥīd* (شرح كلمات التوحيد): Miftāḥ 2591/2.

20. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Kallū of Kashmīr (1100/1688).

A pupil of Khwājah Ḥaydar Charkhī, he was an eminent scholar of Kashmīr well-versed in scholastic theology.

[**1.** Ḥadā'iq 425, **2.** Tādhkirah 6.]

C. *Sayfu 's-sābbīn* (سيف الساببين): Ibid.

21. Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid b. *Qāḍī* Muḥammad Aṣlam al-Harwī al-Kābulī al-Hindī (1101/1689).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah min sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (حاشية علي الامور العامة من شرح المواقف):

MSS. Būhār 98 ; Loth 451-2, Bāukīpūr 540-2 ; Āṣafiyyah ii 1302, IV 835 ; 'Alīgarh 110 ; Bengal I 322 ; Bengal, A. E. 26 ; Rāmpūr.

22. *Mullā* Quṭbu 'd-Dīn *al-shahīd* b. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥalīm b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm Sihālawī (1103/1691).

He was a descendant of Ayyūb Anṣāri, a pupil of *Mullā* Dānyāl (the pupil of *Mullā* 'Abdu 's-Salām of Dewah) and a disciple of *Qāḍī* Ghāsī who was one of the spiritual successors of Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad. He was well versed in all the branches of the Islāmic learning. Besides works mentioned below, he wrote glosses (حواشي) on the *Talwīḥ* (التلويح), the *Tafrī'āt al-Bazdawī* (تفريعات البزدوي), the *Muṭawwal* and the *sharḥ Hikmati 'l- 'ayn* (شرح حكمة العين): He is also the author of *al-Risālah fi taḥqīq dāri 'l-ḥarb* (الرسالة في تحقيق دارالحرب).

[**1.** Ma'āthir 209, **2.** Subḥah 79, **3.** Abjad 904, **4.** Ḥadā'iq 429, **5.** Tadhkirah 168, **6.** Āzād 41, **7.** Faranqī. **8.** Āthāru 'l-uwal 4.]

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد الدواني): Ātharu 'l-uwal 4.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-'Aqā'idi 'n-Nasafiyyah* (الحاشية علي العقائد النسفية): Ibid.

23. *Mullā* Muhammad Muhsin Kashmīrī (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

B. *Najātu 'l-mu'minīn* (نجاة المؤمنين): Delhi 866.

24. Muhibb Allāh b. 'Abd 'al-Shakūr of Bihār (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. *Al-Fitratu 'l-ilāhiyyah sharh al Hikmati 'l-jāmi'ah* (الفطرة الالهية شرح الحكمة الجامعة) : Rāmpūr 317.

25. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb al-Qidwā'ī al-Qannawjī styled *Nawwāb* Mun'im Khān (1126/1714).

[**1.** Hadā'iq 458, **2.** Tadhkirah 139, **3.** Brockelmann ii 417.]

(For another work of his see section IX.)

B. *Bahru 'l-madhāhib* (بحر المذاهب) : Berlin 1851 ; Buhār 105; Rāmpūr 284.

C. *Kitābu 's-salāt* (كتاب الصلاة):* Hadā'iq 458.

26. *Hāfiz* Amān Allāh of Benares (1133-1720).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية علي شرح المواقف) : Tadhkirah 27.

*According to the *Tadhkirah* (p. 139), the title of this work is كتاب الصدرة which is obviously a misprint.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-ḥāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية القديمة): Ibid.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد الدواني) : Ibid.

iv. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Aqā'idi 'l-'Aḍudiyyah* (الحاشية علي العقائد العضدية): Ibid.

27. Shāh Khūb Allāh of Allahabad (1144/1731).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

C. *Ma'khadhu 'l-i'tiqād fi shāni 'l-aṣḥāb wa ahl bayti 'l-amjād* (ماخذ الاعتقاد في شان الاصحاب و اهل بيت الامجاد): Tadhkirah 59.

28. Nūru'd-Dīn Aḥmadabādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Al-Ḥāshiyatu 'l-qawīmah 'ala 'l-ḥāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية القويمة على الحاشية القديمة): Tadhkirah 248.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية على شرح المواقف): Ibid.

iii. *Ḥallu 'l-ma'āqid li-ḥāshiyah sharḥi 'l-Maqāṣid* (حل المعاقد لحاشية شرح المقاصد) : Ibid.

29. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī (1161/1748).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. i. *Sharḥu 'r-risālati 'l- mubāriziyyah fi 'l-'aqā'idi 'l-islāmiyyah* (شرح الرسالة المبارزية في العقائد الاسلامية): Rāmpūr 308.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد الدوانى): Bānkīpūr 556; Delhi 112/2.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-ḥāshiyati 'l-qadīmah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية القديمة): 'Alīgarh 113.

30. Muḥammad Panāh entitled Musta'id Khān (in the time of Muḥammad Shāh of the Mughul Dynasty—1131-1161/1719-1749).

[Tajallī 94.]

(For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Risālah fī taḥqīqi 'l-mabda'* (الرسالة في تحقيق المبدء): Miftāḥ 2633/7.

31. *Qāḍī* Mubārak b. Muḥammad Dā'im al-Fārūqī of Gupāma'ū* (1162/1748).

He was a scholar chiefly interested in theology and philosophy and was a contemporary of *Qāḍī* Aḥmad 'Alī and *Mawlawī* Ḥamd Allāh, both of Sandīla, with whom he had polemic discussions. His commentary on Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī's *Sullamu 'l-'ulūm* is one of the standard books for higher studies in logic.

[Tadhkirah 175.]

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah alā Ḥāshiyah Mīr Zāhid 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على حاشية مير زاهد على الامور العامة): Delhi 828; Bānkīpūr 543; Loth 453; 'Alīgarh 113; Rāmpūr Nos. 71-2.

32. Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (1163/1749).

(For other works of his, see sections II.

*A village in the Hardoi district of U. P. in India.

B. *Al-'Awn fī kashf ḥall Fir'awn fī raddi 'r-risālati 'l-Ḥikmiyyati 'l-'alawiyyah fī 'l-kalimāti 'l-Mūsawiyyah li Ibn al-'Arabī* (العون في كشف حال فرعون في رد الرسالة الحكمية العلوية في الكلمات الموسوية لابن العربي): Rāmpūr 316

C. i. *Risālah fī Bid'ati 't-ta'ziyah* (الرسالة في بدعة التعزية): Itḥāf 404.

ii. *Tuḥfatu 'l-anām fī 'l-'amal bi ḥadīth Khayri 'l-anām* (تحفة الانام في العمل بحديث خير الانام): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī 'n-Nahy 'an 'ishq ṣuwari 'l-murd wa 'n-niswān* (الرسالة في النهي عن عشق صور المرد و النسوان): Ibid.

33. *Shāh* Muḥammad Fākhir b. *Shāh* Khūb Allāh of Allahabad (1164/1750).

After completing his education under his elder brother Shaykh Muḥammad Ẓāhir, he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah where he finished higher studies in *ḥadīth* under *Shaykh* Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī. When he was going on the pilgrimage a third time, he died at Burhānpūr on his way to the Ḥijāz.

[1. Itḥaf 404, 2. Tadhkirah 206.]

B. *Durratu 't-taḥqīq fī nuṣrati 'ṣ-Ṣiddīq* (درة التحقيق في نصرة الصديق): Āṣafiyyah ii 1304.

C. i. *Qurratu 'l-'aynayn fī raf'i 'l-yadayn* (قرة العينين في رفع اليدين): Tadhkirah 206.

ii. *Nūru 's-sunnah* (نور السنة): Ibid.

34. Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr al-Sindī (1174/1760).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

B. i. *Hadīqatu 's-safā fī asmā'i 'l-Mustafā* (حديقة الصفا في اسماء المصطفى): Bengal I 330.

ii. *Tatmīm Hāshiyati 'l-Khayālī* (تتميم حاشية الخيالي): Āsafiyyah ii 1294.

35. Kamālu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī (1175/1761).

He was one of the eminent pupils of *Mullā* Nizāmu 'd-Dīn b. *Mullā* Qutbu d'-Dīn *al-Shahīd* al-Sihālawī. He has several works to his credit.

[Tadhkirah 172.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشية على شرح العقائد الجلالي).

MSS. Āsafiyyah ii 1300; Alīgarh 111.

36. Qutbu 'd-Dīn Ahmad, called *Shāh* Walī Allāh of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, X, XI.)

A. i. *Hujjat Allāhi 'l-bālighah* (حجة الله البالغة): MSS. Bānkipūr, 580; Rāmpūr 334.

ii. *Al-'Aqīdatu 'l-hasanah* (العقيدة الحسنة): MSS. Āsafiyyah ii 1302; Delhi 112.

B. i. *Al-Muqaddimatu 's-saniyyah fī intisāri 'l-firqati 's-sunniyyah* (المقدمة السنية في انتصار الفرقة السنية): Delhi 939; Rāmpūr 322; Āsafiyyah ii 1326.

ii. *Sharh al-Risālah fī masā'il 'ilm Wājib ta'ālā* (شرح الرسالة في مسائل علم واجب تعالي): Rāmpūr 308.

37. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Lāhūrī b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf b. Muḥammad Laṭīf (1192/1778).

His father having migrated from Kābul to Lahore he was born there in 1128/1715 He completed his education under eminent scholars of the age. In *ḥadīth* he, obtained the *sanad* from Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ Makkī and Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī. He had a very facile pen and wrote many works, none of which is known to the present writer to be extant.

[**1.** Ḥadā'iq 451, **2.** Tadhkirah 194.]

(For another work of his, see section VIII.)

C. i. *Madāru 'l-Islām fī 'ilmi 'l-kalām* (مدار الاسلام في علم الكلام) : Ḥadā'iq 451.

ii. *Shurūṭu 'l-īmān* (شروط الايمان): Ibid.

iii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-ḥaqq fī tarki 'l-shi'r wa 'l-ḥalq* (القول الحلق في ترک الشعر و الحلق): Ibid.

iv. *Hadmu 't-ṭāghūt fī qiṣṣah Hārūt wa Mārūt* (هدم الطاغوت في قصه هاروت و ماروت): Ibid.

v. *Nūr ḥadaqati 'th-thaqalayn fī tamthāli 'n-na'layn* (نور حدقة الثقلين في تمثال النعلين): Ibid.

vi *Sharḥi 'n-nafḥati 'l-bāhirah fī jawāzi 'l-qawl bi 'l-khamsati 't-ṭāhirah* (شرح نفحات الباهرة في جواز القول بالخمسة الطاهرة): Ibid.

vii. *Tabyīḍu 'r-raqq fī tabyīni 'l-ḥaqq fī radd mā tasāhala fīh al-Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq* (تبييض الرق في تبيين الحق في رد ماتساهل فيه الشيخ عبدالحق): Ibid.

38. Muḥammad Anwar b. Nūru 'd-Dīn Akbarābādī (compiled in 1192/1778).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known.

B. *Anwāru 'l-hidāyah fī 'l-Fadak wa 'l qirṭās* (انوار الهدايه في الفدک و القرطاس): Delhi 786.

39. Nūr Muḥammad Kashmīrī (1195/1780).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Ḥāshiyati 'l-Khayālī* (الحاشيه على حاشية الخيالي): Tadhkirah 248.

40. Abu 'l-Khayr (1198/1783).

[Tajallī 104.]

C. *Sharḥu 'l-'Aqā'idi 'n-Nasafiyyah* (شرح العقائد النسفيه): Ibid.

41. Fakhru 'd-Dīn b. Niẓāmu 'l-Ḥaqq (1199/1784).

A. *Al-Qawlu 'l-mustaḥsan fī faqri 'l-Ḥasani 'l-Baṣrī* (القول المستحسن في فقر الحسن البصري): see Peshāwar 792.

42. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān b. Abdu 'r-Rasūl al-Raḥmānī (in the 12th century).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-'Aḍudiyyati 'l-Jalālī* (الحاشيه علي شرح العقائد العضدية الجلالي): Bānkīpūr 558.

43. Muḥammad b. Abdu 'l-'Azīz (in the 12th century.)

B. *Fakhru 'l-ḥawāshī ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-Jalālī* (فخر الحواشي الحاشيه علي شرح العقائد الجلالي): Bānkīpūr 555.

44. Barakat Allāh (in the 12th century).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI, VII.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة): Bānkīpūr 545.

45. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī al-Hindī (1205/1790).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, III, IV, IX.)

C. i. *Ḥikmatu 'l-ishrāq ilā kitābi 'l-āfāq* (حكمة الاشراق الى كتاب الآفاق): Tadhkirah 225.

ii. *Itḥāf banī al-zaman fī ḥukm qahwati 'l-Yaman* (اتحاف بني الزمن في حكم قهوة اليمن): Abjad 714.

iii. *Itḥāfu 'l-ikhwān fī ḥukmi 'd-dukhān* (اتحاف الاخوان في حكم الدخان): Ibid.

46. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1209/1794).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة) : Rāmpūr 291.

47. *Qāḍī* Thanā' Allāh of Panipat (1225-1810).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. i. *Ḥaqūqu 'l-Islām*, also known as *Ḥaqīqatū 'l-Islām* (حقوق الاسلام المعروف به حقيقة الاسلام) : Tadhkirah 38, 204.

ii. *Al-Sayfu 'l-maslūl* (السيف المسلول) : Ibid.

48. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn b. *Mullā* Muḥibb Allāh of Lucknow (1225/1810).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah ʻala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'Z-zāhidiyyah ʻala 'l-umūri 'l-ʻāmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامه) : ʻAlīgarh 111 ; Nadwah 86.

49. Sayyid Dildār ʻAli b. Sayyid Muḥammad Muʻīnu'd-Dīn of Naṣīrābād (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VIII.)

B. i. *ʻImādu 'l-Islām* (عماد الاسلام): Bānkīpūr 533-5.

ii. *Shihāb thāqib* (شهاب ثاقب): Delhi 909; ʻAlīgarh 115; Āṣafiyyah iv 540;

iii. *Kashfu 'n-niqāb ʻan ʻaqā'id Ibn ʻAbdu 'l-Wahhāb* (كشف النقاب عن عقائد ابن عبد الوهاب): Āṣafiyyah iv 542.

C. i. *Ṣawārimu 'l-ilāhiyyat* (صوارم الالهيات): Tadhkirah bi-baha 149.

ii. *Ḥusāmu 'l-Islām* (حسام الاسلام): Ibid.

iii. *Iḥyā 'u 'l-sunnah* (احياء السنة) : Ibid.

iv. *Risālah fī Ghaybati Ṣāḥibi 'z-zamān* (الرسالة في غيبت صاحب الزمان): Ibid.

v. *Musakkinu 'l-qulūb ʻinda faqdi 'l-maḥbūb* (مسكن القلوب عند فقد المحبوب): Ibid.

50. *Baḥru 'l-ulūm* ʻAbdu 'l-ʻAlī of Lucknow (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, VI, VII.)

43

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية علي الامور العامة) : Āṣafiyyah ii 1302, iv 538 ; 'Alīgarh 113 ; Bānkīpūr 548 ; Delhi 831.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي شرح العقايد الدواني): Miftāḥ 1194.

iii. *Sharḥ Maqāmāti 'l mabādī* (شرح مقامات المبادي): Āṣafiyyah ii 1314.

iv. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Mawāqif* (الحاشية علي شرح المواقف): Bengal A. E. 17.

51. Muḥammad b. 'Alī of Fayḍābād (Compiled in 1235/1819).

C. i. *Al-Asinnatu 'l-Muḥammadiyyah li 'z-zanādiqah wa 'n-naṣrāniyyah wa 'l-yahudiyyah fī faḍā'ili 'iṣmati 'l-ma'ṣūm* (الاسنة المحمدية للزنادقة و النصرانية و اليهودية في فضائل عصمة المعصوم): Kashf.

ii. *Riyāḍu 'l-mwā'iẓ wa kifāyatu 'l-muta-dhakkir wa 'l-wā 'iẓ* (رياض المواعظ و كفاية المتذكر و الواعظ): Ibid.

52. 'Alī Muḥammad (1236/1820).

[Tajallī 125.]

C. i. *Minhāju 'l-Islām* (منهاج الاسلام): Ibid.

ii. *Tahdhību 'l-Islām* (تهذيب الاسلام): Ibid.

53. *Shāh* 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. *Shāh* Wali Allah of Delhi (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI.)

A. i. *Niẓāmu 'l-'aqā'id* (نظام العقائد). Bri. Mus.

ii. *Sharḥ mīzāni 'l-'aqā'id* (شرح ميزان العقائد): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī mā yajib ḥifẓuhū li 'n-nāẓir* (الرسالة في مايجب حفظه للناظر): Ibid.

B. i *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة): Delhi 828-1514.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-muqaddimati 's-saniyyah fī intiṣāri 'l-firqati 's-sunniyyah* (الحاشية على المقدمة السنية في انتصار الفرقة السنية): Ibid.

54. Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Muḥammad b. Shaykh Muḥyi 'd-Dīn b. *Shaykh* 'Umar,* commonly called Al-Aslamī of Madras (a contemporary of Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz of Delhi).

Concerning him, nothing seems to be known except that he was a scholar of Madras and a pupil of *Baḥru 'l-'ulūm* 'Abdu 'l-'Alī. He composed the undermentioned work in 1227/1812.

A. *Al-Tarjumatu 'l-'abqariyyah wa 'ṣ-ṣawlatu 'l-Ḥaydariyyah* (الترجمة العبقرية و الصولة الحيدرية تعريب تحفة اثناعشرية) (Arabic translation of *Shāh* 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz's تحفة اثناعشرية): Āṣa'fiy-yah ii 1294. MSS. Bankīpūr 584; Āṣafiyyah ii 1294.

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*According to Bankipur No. 584; but according to the Asafiyyah Catalogue ii, page 1294, the name of the author is محمد سعيد اسلمي.

55. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Aḥmad Multānī (**a** contemporary of the above mentioned Shāh **'Abdu 'l-'Azīz** of Delhi).

B. *Al-Nibrās sharḥu 'l-'Aqā'idi 'n-Nasafiyyah* (النبراس شرح العقائد النسفيه): Nadwah 89.

56. *Shāh* Muḥammad Ismā'īl b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī of Delhi (1246/1830).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, X.)

A. *Irshādu 'l-'ibād ilā sabīli 'r-rashād* (ارشاد العباد الى سبيل الرشاد): Bri. Mus.

57. Rashīdu 'd-Dīn Khān of Delhī (1249/1833).

He was a pupil of *Shāh* Rafī'u 'd-Dīn Dihlawī b. *Shāh* Walī Allāh.

[**1.** Abjad 917, **2.** Tadhkirah 63, **3.** Maḥbūb 29.]

B. *Īḍāḥ laṭāfati 'l-maqāl fī tafṣīli 'l-jawāb bi 'l- ifṣāḥ 'an sharāfati 'l-āl wa tafḍīli 'l-aṣḥāb* (ايضاح لطافت المقال فى تفصيل الجواب بالافصاح عن شرافت آل و تفضيل الاصحاب): Maḥbūb p. 29.

C. *Al-Shawkatu 'l-'Umariyyah* (الشوكة العمرية): Abjad 917.

58. *Qāḍī* Irtiḍā 'Alī Khān Gupāmawī (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VI, IX.)

B. *Izāḥatu 'l-awhān 'an mas'ilati 'l-kalām* (ازاحة الاوهام عن مسئلة الكلام): Āṣafiyyah iv 532.

59. ***Muftī*** **Ẓuhūr Allāh b. Muḥammad Walī b.** ***Muftī*** **Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1256/1840).**

Born in 1174/1760, he received his education from his father and his uncle ***Mullā*** **Muḥammad Ḥasan and was**

appointed *Muftī* at Lucknow during the reign of *Nawwāb* Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. He has several works to his credit.

[**1.** Farangī, **2.** Āthāru 'l-uwal 16, **3.** Tadhkirah 99.]

(For other works of his, see section VI.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hashiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية علی الامور العامة): Bānkīpūr 547; Delhi 830.

60. Sayyid 'Alī b. S. Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrābādī (1259/1843).

Born at Lucknow in 1200/1785, he received his education from his father and qualified himself in all the branches of Islamic learning. He died at the Karbalā. He was the author of several works.

[**1.** Nujum 403, **2.** Tadhkirah bi-baha 214.]

B. *Zād qalīl* (زاد قليل) Āṣafiyyah ii 1308.

C. i. *Risālah fi 'l-Fadak* (الرسالة في الفدك): Nujum 403.

ii. *Risālah fī 'l-mut'ah* (الرسالة في المتعة): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī jawāzi 't-ta'ziyah* (الرسالة في جواز التعزية): Ibid.

61. Walī Allāh b. *Mullā* Ḥabīb Allāh Farangī-maḥallī (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI, VIII.)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-'Aqā'idi 'l-'Aḍudiyyah* (الحاشية علي شرح العقائد العضدية): 'Alīgarh 113.

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā 'l- Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية علی الامور العامة): Āthāru 'l-uwal 33.

62. *Mullā* Nūrū 'd-Dīn b. Ismā'īl Rāmpūrī (1270/1853).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. *Al-Bay'ah bi yadi Khalīfati 'r-Raḥmān 'ala madhhabi 'n-Nu'mān* (البيعة بيد خليفة الرحمن على مذهب النعمان): Rāmpūr 285.

63. Sayyid Ḥusayn* b. S. Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrābādī (1273/1856).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI.)

B. i. *Manāhiju 't-tadqīq wa Ma'āriju 't-taḥqīq* (مناهج التدقيق و معارج التحقيق): Bengal I 991.

ii. *Al-Majālisu 'l-mufji'ah* (المجالس المفجعة): Būhār 211.

C. i. *Aṣālatu 't-ṭahārat* (اصالة الطهارة): Kashf.

ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'l-ḥasanah* (الفوائد الحسنة): Ibid.

64. Abū Sa'īd Ẓuhūru 'l-Ḥaqq of Patnah (1279/1862).

[See Bānkīpūr 583.]

B. *Taswīlātu 'l-falāsifah* (تسويلات الفلاسفة): Bānkīpūr 583; Nadhīr Aḥmad 105.

65. *Ḥājjī* Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī al-Dihlawī al-'Uthmānī (in the 13th century).

A. *Iẓhāru 'l-ḥaqq fī raddi 'n-naṣārā* (اظهار الحق في رد النصاري): See Brockelmann ii 504; Āṣafiyyah ii 1290.

*For his biography refer to تذكرهٔ بي بها, p. 124.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. *Mullā* Aḥmad Allāh of Peshāwar.

B. *Tuḥfatu 'l-ikhwān fi 't-tafriqah bayni 'l-kufr wa 'l-īmān).* (تحفة الاخوان فی التفرقة بین الکفر و الایمان): Rāmpūr 285.

2. Ni'mat Allāh.

B. *Risālah fī Khalqi 'l-a'māl* (الرسالة في خلق الاعمال): Miftāḥ 2609/7.

3 Ibn Sirāj.

B. *Tadhkiratu 'l-madhāhib* (تذكرة المذاهب): Delhi 285.

4. Shaykh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm.

B. *Risālah fī imān Fir'aun* (الرسالة في ايمان فرعون): Rāmpūr 301.

5. Badru 'd-Dīn of Ḥaydarābād.

B. *Risālah fī raddi 'l-wahhābiyyat* (الرسالة في رد الوهابية): Rāmpūr 302.

6. Fatḥ Muhammad.*

B. *Risālah fī Takhlīqi 'l-wujūd* (الرسالة في تخليق الوجود): Bengal II 32.

7. Muḥammad Aḥsan of Peshāwar.

B. *Al-Abḥāthu 't-tis'atu 'l-muta'allaqah bi kalimāti 't-tawḥīd* (الابحاث التسعة المتعلقة بكلمات التوحيد): Peshāwar 739.

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* He may be the son of Muhammad Isa Burhanpuri, (see p. 292).

8. Malik Aḥmadābādī b. Malik Pīr Muḥammad al-Fārūqī.

B. *'Iqdu 'l-la'ālī al-ghāshiyah fī ḥāshiyati 'sh-sharḥ wa sharḥi 'l-ḥāshiyah* (عقد اللآلي الغاشية في حاشية الشرح و شرح الحاشية): Bengal A. E. 45.

9. *Mullā* Akbar.*

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyah 'ala 'l-umūri 'l-'āmmah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية على الامور العامة): Delhi 835.

10. Yūsuf Aḥmadābādī.

B. *'Aqā'id* (عقائد): Stewart, p. 143.

11. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl of Jūnāgarh.

B. *Wasīlatu 'n-najāt fī aḥkāmi 'l-mamāt* (وسيلة النجاة في احكام الممات): Nadhīr Aḥmad 55.

*He may be Muhammad Akbar Kashmiri (d. 1272/1855). For his short biography refer to the *Tadhkirah*, p. 182.

SECTION VI

PHILOSOPHY

1. Sayyid Muḥammad Hamadhānī b. Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadhānī (d. in the early part of ninth century).

We have already known his father* as the author of several works mentioned in section I, II, IV. While twenty-two years old, Muḥammad Hamadhānī went to Kashmīr in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar, the Idol-breaker, and acquired there a very high position as a saint and a religious leader. Under his influence and guidance, the Hindū minister of the Sulṭān embraced *Islām* and gave him his daughter in marriage. Besides the work mentioned below, he is said to have written a treatise on Ṣūfīism.

[Tadhkirah 219]

C. *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah* (شرح الشمسية): Ibid.

2. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Manglūrī (in the early part of the ninth century).

[See Loth 577, where it is written: 'It appears from this MS. that the author wrote this commentary at Asāwul (*i.e.*, Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt), and dedicated it to Muḥammad Unnar Khān, who was probably a son of Jām Fatḥ Khān b. Sikandar, ruler of Sindh (812-827 A. H.).']

B. *Al-Juz'u 'l-awwal min al-Zubdah sharḥ al-Shamsiyyah fī 'ilmi 'l-mīzān* (الجزء الاول من الزبدة شرح الشمسية في علم الميزان): Loth 577-79.

* For his life, refer to page 233.

3. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ilāh-dād al-‘Uthmānī of Tulumba* (922/1516).

(For a short biographical note on him, refer to page 110.)

[**1.** Ṭabaqāt f-152 *a*, **2.** Ma’āthir 191, **3.** Subḥah 42, **4.** Abjad 894, **5.** Ḥadā’iq 362, **6.** Tadhkirah 101, **7.** Azad 18.]

A. *Badī‘u ’l-mizān sharḥ Mīzān al- manṭiq* (بديع الميزان شرح ميزان المنطق).

MSS. Loth 574; Delhi 1359; Miftāḥ 1926; Bri. Mus. p. 455; Rāmpūr 433; Bānkīpūr 2311; Āṣafiyyah 1566. Nadwah 424, 451.

4. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Ilmī (965/1557)†.

He was a Shī‘ah scholar of Persia and a pupil of Jalālu ’d-Dīn al-Dawwānī. He came to Aḥmadnagar during the reign of Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh (961-972/1553-65), and dedicated the undermentioned work to him.

[See Loth 490 and Bānkīpūr 2364.]

A. *Ghāyatu ’n-nihāyah,‡ ḥāshiyah sharḥi ’l-Maybudhī* (غاية النهاية حاشية شرح الميبذى): See Āṣafiyyah iv 488.

MSS. Loth 490; Rāmpūr (philosophy section) No. 47; Bānkīpūr 2364.

5. Muṣliḥu ’d-Dīn al-Lārī al-Anṣārī (979/1571).

[**1.** Rieu Perse. Cat. I 116; **2.** Brockelmann ii 420.]

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* A village in Multan.

† ‘Alimi (العليمي) according to Bankipur 2364.

‡ According to Loth; but غاية الهداية according to Bankipur.

B. i. *Risālah fī Baḥth tamām al-mushtarik* (الرسالة في بحث تمام المشترک): Goth 87 ii, 88 ii.

ii. *Risālah fī Baḥth al-qudrah wa 'l-irādah* (الرسالة في بحث القدرة و الارادة): Ibid. 87 iii, 88 iii.

iii. *Risālah fī Baḥth al-ḥarakah* (الرسالة في بحث الحركة): Berlin 5100.

iv *Risālah fī Taḥqīq al-ma'ād wa 'l-mabda'* (الرسالة في تحقيق المعاد و المبدء): Leid 1601.

C. i. *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق): See Rieu Pers. Cat. page I 116.

ii. *Sharḥ Hidāyati 'l-ḥikmah* (شرح هداية الحكمة): Ibid.

6. Amīr Fatḥ Allāh Shīrāzī (997/1588).

A pupil of Kamālu 'd-Dīn Shiruānī and Mīr Ghiyāthu 'd-Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī, he was an eminent scholar of Shīrāzī from where he was invited by 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr to the Deccan. Later on in 991/1583 he joined the service of Akbar, the Great, and soon became one of the most prominent companions and courtiers of the Emperor.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii 154, 2. Ṭabaqāt b. 222 a, 3. Ma'āthir 237]

C. i. *Takmilah ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī 'alā Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (تكملة حاشية الدواني على تهذيب المنطق): Ma'āthir 237.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية على حاشية الدواني): Ibid.

7. *Qāḍī* Nūr Allāh b. Sayyid Sharīf Shūstarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, IX)

B. i. *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق): Būhār 299; Rāmpūr 453; Delhi 1464.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharhi 'd-Dawwānī 'ala Tahdhībi 'l-manṭiq* (الحاشية علي شرح الدواني علي تهذيب المنطق): Rāmpūr 457.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Maybudhī* (الحاشية علي الميبذي): Rāmpūr 385.

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Shamsiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية علي الشمسية القطبية): Kasf.

8. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, called 'Abdu n-Nabī al-shaṭṭārī (d. after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, IX, X.)

C. *Rūḥu 'l-arwāḥ sharḥu 'l-ḥikmati 'l-ishrāqiyyah* (روح الارواح شرح الحكمة الاشراقية): Tadhkirah 135.

9. Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi (1052/1642).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VIII.)

A. *Al-Durratu 'l-bahiyyah* (الدرة البهية): in Bri. Mus.

10. Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad (1058/1648).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. *Kitāb al-mubīn* (كتاب المبين): Rāmpūr 402.

11. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Gīlānī, entitled *Ḥakīmu 'l-mulk* (1059/1649).

He was a pupil of Mīr Bāqir Damād and was attached to the court of the Quṭb Shāhs of Golkonda (918-1098/1512-1687).

B. *Shajrah dānish* * (المجموعة المسماة بشجرة دانش فيها ماية و ثماني رسائل من الفنون المختلفة كالطب و الفقه و الفلسفة و الكلام و المنطق و الادبيات و غير ذالك): Āṣafiyyah ii 1748.

12. Mīr Hāshim b. *Ḥakīm* Muḥd. Aḥsan b. Muḥd. Afḍal (1061/1650).

He received his education in Mathematics and Medicine from *Ḥakīm* 'Alī al-Jīlānī, and was appointed by Shāh-jahān as a teacher to Awrangzīb.

[1. Farḥat, 2. Maḥbūb 190.]

B. i. *Hāshiyatu 'l-maybudhī* (حاشية الميبذي): Rāmpūr 385.

ii. *Khulāṣatu 'l-afkār, ḥāshiyah sharḥ i Maṭāli' al-anwār* (خلاصة الافكار حاشية شرح مطالع الانوار): Āṣafiyyah ii 1568.

13. *Mullā* Maḥmūd al-Fārūqī Jawnpūrī (1062/1651). (For another work of his, refer to section IV.)

A. i. *Al-Ḥikmatu 'l-bālighah* (الحكمة البالغة).

ii. *Al-Shamsu 'l-bāzighah sharḥu 'l-Ḥikmati 'l-bālighah* (الشمس البازغة شرح الحكمة البالغة).

MSS. (of both): Loth 561; Calcutta 57; Rāmpūr 398; Bānkīpūr 2393-95; 'Alīgarh 79; Āṣafiyyah ii 1206, iv 486.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mīr Quṭbī* (الحاشية على مير قطبي):† Āṣafiyyah 1570.

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* The title shows that the book is in Persian, but in the Asafiyyah catalogue, it is clearly written that it is in Arabic.

† The commentary of قطب الدين رازي (d. 766/1364) on the شمسية of نجم الدين الكاتبي (d. 675/1276) is known in India as the قطبي, and the glosses of السيد الشريف الجرجاني (d. 816/1413) on the قطبي is known as the مير قطبي.

ii. *Al-Dawḥatu 'l-mayyādah fī ḥadīqati 's-ṣūrah wa 'l-māddah* (الدوحة الميادة في حديقة الصورة و المادة): Rāmpūr 388; Āṣafiyyah ii 1200; Delhi 1618.

iii. *Risālah fī Ithbāti 'l-hayūlā* (الرسالة في اثبات الهيولي): Loth 561 ii.

iv. *Risālah fī ma'nā irtifā'i 'l-naqīḍayn* (الرسالة في معني ارتفاع النقيضين): Rāmpūr 449.

v. *Risālah fi 'l-Kulliyyāt* (الرسالة في الكليات): Āṣafiyyah ii 1202.

14. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, IX.)

A. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Mīr Quṭbī* (الحاشية علي مير قطبي): See Loth 518.

MSS. Loth 518, 519; Buhār 296; Delhi 1408; Rāmpūr 437; Berlin 5264. Bānkīpūr 2253; 'Alīgarh 88.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyah sharḥ Maṭāli' al-anwār* (الحاشية علي حاشية شرح مطالع الانوار).

MSS. Bānkīpūr 2263; Loth 596.

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Quṭbī* (الحاشية علي القطبي): Berlin 5264; in many libraries at Constantinople, *e g.*, Āyā Ṣūfiyah 1947; Sarwīlī 204; Fayḍ Allāh 95, 97; Rāghib 886; Lālah lī 2572; Yaḥyā 216; Dāmād Qāḍī 1496; 'Āṭif 1626; Qilij 649; Maḥmūd Pāshā ii 59, 60; Sulaymāniyyah 800; Jāmi' Sharīfī 489, 492 etc.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Maybudhi* (الحاشية علي الميبذي): Rāmpur 385; Delhi 1615.

15. ‘Abdu ’r-Rashīd b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdu ’l-Ḥamīd of Jawnpūr (1083/1672).

(For another work of his see section III.)

A. *Al-Ādābu ’r-Rashīdiyyah fī ‘ilmi ’l-munāẓarah* (الآداب الرشيدية في علم المناظرة).

MSS. Būhār 461 ii; Loth 558; Rampūr 675; Bri. Mus. p. 456; ‘Alīgarh 115; Bānkīpūr 2410; see also J.R.A.S. for 1892, p. 508, No. 46.

16. *Mullā* ‘Abdu ’l-Bāqī b. Ghawth al-Islām al-Ṣiddiqī of Jawnpūr (1084/1673).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

B. i. *Al-Ādābu ’l-Bāqiyyah fī sharḥi ’l Ādābi’ sh-sharifiyyah* (الآداب الباقية في شرح الآداب الشريفية): Loth 554-57; Delhī 77; Berlin 5321; Būhār 364; Bengal J. 3; Rāmpūr 674; Bānkīpūr 2407-8; Nadwah 575.

ii. *Al-Abḥāthu ’l-Bāqiyyah* (الابحاث الباقية): Būhār 365; Bānkīpūr 2409; Āṣafiyyah iv 536.

iii. *Baḥth fī anna ’l-‘ilm wa ’l-ma‘lūm muttaḥidān* (بحث في ان العلم و المعلوم متحدان): Āṣafiyyah 1736.

17. Mīr Sayyid Ismā‘īl Bilgrāmī (1088/1677).

He was one of the pupils of *Mullā* ‘Abdu ’s-Salām of Dewah and an eminent scholar of Bilgrām. He also attended the lectures of ‘Abdu ’l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot and had discussions with him which impressed the latter very much.

[Ma’āthir 232.]

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyati 'd-Dawwānī* (الحاشية علي حاشية الدواني): Ibid.

18. Jalāl b. Naṣīr Chanābī (in the eleventh century).

(For another work of his, refer to section I.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala Badī'u 'l-mīzān* (الحاشية علي بديع الميزان):* see India Office 1119.

19. *Mullā* Muḥammad Ṣādiq (in the eleventh century A. H.)

[See Buhār 300.]

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Badī'u 'l-mīzān* (الحاشية علي بديع الميزان): Buhār 300; Delhi 1564.

20. Muḥammad Sharīf Kanbuh (in the eleventh century A. H.)

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IX.)

B i. *Risālah fī 'l-Manṭiq* (الرسالة في المنطق): Bānkīpur 1779, vi.

ii. *Risālah fī 'l-Munāẓarh* (الرسالة في المناظرة): Ibid. 1779 viii.

21. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān al-Hindī about 1100/1688).

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Tahdhīb al-manṭiq li 'l Yazdī* (الحاشية علي شرح تهذيب المنطق لليزدي): Berlin 5181.

22. Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid b. *Qādī* Muḥammad Aslam Harwī Kābulī (1101/1689).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

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*Extracts from this حاشية are lithographed on the margin of the edition of the بديع الميزان published at Lucknow in 1261-2. (India Office 1119).

A i. *Ḥāshiyah* *'*alā Risālati 't-taṣawwur wa 't-taṣdīq li Quṭbu 'd-Dīn* (الحاشية على رسالة التصور و التصديق لقطب الدين)

MSS. Loth 533, Rāmpūr 464; Āṣafiyyah ii 1570, 1572, iv 624; 'Aligarh 82, 87; Nadwah 429, 431; Bānkīpur 2266.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah*† *'alā sharḥi 'd-Dawwānī 'alā Tahdhībi 'l-manṭiq* (الحاشية علي شرح الدواني علي تهذيب المنطق)

MSS. Calcutta Lx; Rāmpūr 465; Loth 544; Aligarh 84, 87; Nadwah 456; Bānkīpūr 2287-88.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Hayākili 'n-nūr* (الحاشية على شرح هياكل النور): Rāmpūr 385; Bānkīpur 2355.

23. *Mullā* Imāmu 'd-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh Muhandis (in the early part of the 12th century).

Originally he was a resident of Lahore, but later on he settled at Delhi. He was a great mathematician and astronomer.

[Tadhkirah 262]

(For another work of his, see section VII.)

B. *Al-Taṣwīb sharḥ al Tahdhīb* (التصويب شرح التهذيب): Delhi 1473.

24. *Mullā* Muḥammad Amīn Kashmīrī (1109/1697).

He was an eminent scholar and author of Kashmīr and the teacher of *Mullā* 'Ināyat Allāh and *Mullā* Muḥsin Kashmīrī.

* These glosses by Mir Zahid are generally known in India as الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية.

†These glosses are generally known in India as الحاشية الزاهدية الدوانية او الجلالية.

[Tadhkirah 182.]

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 't-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية علي شرح التهذيب) : Ibid.

25. Muḥibb Allāh b. 'Abdu 'sh-Shakūr of Bihār (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

A. *Sullamu 'l-'ulūm* (سلم العلوم) MSS. Loth 563-6; Rāmpūr 451; 'Alīgarh 82; Nadwah 443-455; Āṣafiyyah ii 1572, iv 622; Bānkīpūr, 2313-14; see Brockelmann ii 421.

B. i. *Al-Jawharu 'l-fard* (الجوهر الفرد): Loth 581; Būhār 463 vii.

ii. *Hallu 'l-mughālaṭatu 'l-'āmmatu 'l-wurūd* (حل المغالطة العامة الورود) : Āṣafiyyah 1738.

26. Ghulām Yaḥyā b. Najmu 'd-Dīn of Bihār (1128/1715)*.

He was a scholar of Bihar, chiefly interested in logical studies. The under-mentioned glosses of his on a work on logic are highly esteemed in India.

[1. Beale 144, 2. Tadhkirah 159, 3. Būhār 310.]

A. *Liwā'u 'l-hudā fi 'l-layl wa 'd-dujā* (لواء الهدي في الليل والدجي - الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية) MSS. Būhār 310; Rāmpūr 441; Delhi 1380, 1537; Peshāwar 1736; 'Alīgarh 84.

27. *Hāfiẓ* Amān Allāh of Benares (1133/1720).

(For another work of his, see sections I, V.)

B. i. ***Risālah fi 'l-Mughālaṭi 'l-'āmmati 'l-wurūd*** (الرسالة في المغالطة العامة الورود): Delhi 1568.

* Bankipur No. 2275 gives 1180/1766 as his death year which is not correct.

ii. *Risālah fī 't-Taḥqīqi mithli 'l-Aflāṭūnī* (الرسالة في تحقيق المثل الافلاطوني): Delhi 1671.

iii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-Kulliyyi 't-ṭabī 'ī* (الرسالة في تحقيق الكلي الطبيعي): Delhi 1568/D.

C. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala al Ādābi 'r-Rashidiyyah* (حاشية على الآداب الرشيدية): Tadhkirah 27.

28. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1138/1725).

He was a great scholar and an elegant poet. He was the maternal grandfather of Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād. In 1111/1699, he visited the camp of Awrangzīb at Bījāpūr and got a *Manṣab* and Jāgīr, with the joint offices of Bakhshī (Paymaster) and Newswriter of Gujarāt, from where he was transferred to Bhakar in Sindh. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar he was suspended from his post at Bhakar and was recalled to Delhi in 1126/1714; but soon he was re-instated and was allowed to officiate by deputy, whilst he himself remained at Delhi until 1133/1721, when he resigned in favour of his son. He is the author of several works and composed verses in four languages 'Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindī.

[**1.** Ma'āthir 257, **2.** Subḥah 79, **3.** Abjad 907, **4.** Ḥada'iq 437, **5.** Tadhkirah 108, **6.** Beale 4, **7.** Āzād 53, **8.** Qāmūs ii 56, **9.** Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl by Maulawī Sayyid Maqbūl Aḥmad.]

(For another work of his, see section X.)

C. *Risālah fī Ibṭāl juz' lā-yatajazzā* (الرسالة في ابطال جزء لايتجزى): Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl ii 13.

29. Sa'd Allāh Salūnī b. 'Abdu 'sh-Shakūr (1138/1725).

He was a resident of Salūn, a village in the Allahabad Division. Having completed his studies and

having gained a high position as a scholar and a saint, he went on the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah. He stayed at Makkah for 12 years where many persons became his disciples. Then he returned to India and settled at Sūrat. Besides the under-mentioned work, he is the author of the *Risālah Kashfu 'l-ḥaqq*, the *Sharḥ-i-mathnawī-i-Rūmī*, and the *Risālah Tuḥfatu 'r-Rasūl.*

[**1.** Abjad 910, **2.** Tadhkirah 73, **3.** Āzād 54.]

C. *Sharḥ Hidāyatu 'l-ḥikmah* (شرح هداية الحكمة): Tadhkirah 73.

30. *Shaykh* Ḥabīb Allāh Qannawjī (**1140/1727**).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. *Risālah fī 'l-manṭiq* (الرسالة في المنطق): Rāmpūr 450.

31. *Mullā* 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. Qāḍī **'**Abdu 'r-Rasūl al-U'thmānī of Aḥmadnagar (after **1144/1731**.)

(For other works of his, see sections III, IX.)

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi t-Tahdhīb li 'l-Yazdī* (الحاشية على شرح التهذيب لليزدي): Bri. Mus. MSS. Rāmpūr 438; Bānkīpūr 2304-5; Āṣafiyyah iii 668.

32. Nūru 'd-Dīn b. Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmadābādī (1155/**1742**).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, IX.)

B. *Sharḥ Tahdhībi-'l-manṭiq* (شرح تهذيب المنطق): Āṣafiyyah iv 622.

33. Ḥamd Allāh b. Shukr Allāh of Sandīlā (**1160/1747**).

(For another work of his see section III.)

A. i. *Sharḥ Sullam al-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم) MSS. Rāmpūr 453; Bānkīpūr 2321-22; 'Alīgarh 83.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l bāzighah* (الحاشية على الشمس البازغة): MSS. Rāmpūr 386; 'Alīgarh 80; Āṣafiyyah iv 486; Bānkīpūr 2396-98.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala sharḥ Hidāyati 'l-ḥikmah* (الحاشية على شرح هداية الحكمة): Rāmpūr 385; 'Alīgarh 81.

34. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī (1161/1748).

(For other works of his see sections III, V.)

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): 'Alīgarh 81; Būhār 324; Rāmpūr 384; Peshāwar 1677; Bānkīpūr 2371

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l-bāzighah* (الحاشية على الشمس البازغة): Bānkīpūr 2399; Delhi 1640.

35. Muḥammad Panāh entitled Musta'id Khān (in the time of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhī, 1131-1161/1719-1748).

(For another work, see section V.)

B. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-ja'li 'l-basīṭ* (الرسالة في تحقيق الجعل البسيط): Rāmpūr 449.

36. Muḥammad Ashraf b. Abū Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-Bardawānī (in the time of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, 1131-1161/1719-1748).

He was a pupil of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Lucknow.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpūr 445; Āṣafiyyah iv. 622; Bānkīpūr 2267-8.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah.* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bānkīpūr 2291.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rāmpūr 385.

44. Muḥammad Amjad b. Muḥammad Fayḍ Allāh Ṣiddiqī Qannawjī (in 12th century).

He was a pupil of 'Alī Aṣghar of Qannawj.

[Ḥadā'iq 457]

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rāmpūr 383; Bānkīpūr 2373-74; 'Alīgarh 80.

45. *Qāḍī* Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī b. Fatḥ Allāh of Sandīla (1200/1785).

(For another work of his, see section III.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Bānkīpūr 2270-71; Buhār 305; Rāmpūr 444; Āṣafiyyah iv 620; Delhi 1523/b.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1391; Rāmpūr 448; Bānkīpūr 2293).

iii. *Sharḥ Sullamī 'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Nadwah 435; Buhār 305; Rāmpūr 456; Āṣafiyyah iv 624.

46. *Mullā* Muḥammad Ḥasan b. *Qāḍī* Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1209/1794).

(For other works of his, see sections works III, V.)

A. *Sharḥ Sullam al-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم):

MSS. Rāmpūr 453; Āṣafiyyah iv 622; Bānkīpūr 2323; 'Alīgarh 88; Nadwah 442.

B. i. *Ma'āriju 'l-'ulūm* (معارج العلوم): Delhi 1519.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rāmpūr 383; Bānkīpūr 2372; 'Alīgarh 82.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'sh-Shamsi 'l-bāzighah* (الحاشية على الشمس البازغة): Būhār 333; Rāmpūr 386; Bānkīpūr 2400.

iv *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Bānkīpūr 2269; Āṣafiyyah ii 1570; Rāmpūr 445; 'Alīgarh 88.

v. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1375; Rāmpūr 447; Būhār 310; Bengal I 325 (either this or the previous one); Bānkīpūr 2292.

C. i. *Ghāyatu 'l-'ulūm fi 't-ṭab'iyyāt* (غاية العلوم في الطبيعات): Tadhkirah 185.

ii. *Madāriju 'l-'ulūm* (مدارج العلوم): Āthāru 'l uwal 11.

47. Ghulām Ḥusayn al-Shī'ī of Allahabad (d. in the early part of 13th century).

He was the teacher of Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Shī'ī Naṣīrābādī.

[See Buhār 309 iv]

A. *Risālah fī Ja'l basīṭ wa ja'l murakkab* (الرسالة في جعل بسيط و جعل مركب): see Āṣafiyyah ii 1202.

MSS. Buhār 309 iv.

48. Muḥammad Fīrūz b. Maḥabbat (in the time of Shāh-'ālam of the Mughal dynasty-1173-1221/1759-1806).

[See Buhār 301.]

A. *Al-Sirāju 'l-wahhāj sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (السراج الوهاج شرح سلم العلوم): see Āṣafiyyah iii 672.

MSS. Buhār 301; Rāmpūr 456; Bānkīpūr 2324.

49. Sayyid Khwājah Muḥammad b. 'Abdu 'r Raḥmān Qannawjī (in the time of Shāh-'ālam of the Mughal dynasty).

He was a scholar well-versed in esoteric and exoteric branches of Islamic learning. He went on the pilgrimage to the *Ḥaramayn* where he derived a good deal of benefit from coming in contact with the scholars of the Ḥijāz. Besides the under-mentioned work, he is also the author of the *Hidāyatu 's-sālikīn ilā ṣirāṭi Rabbi 'l-'ālamīn* (هداية السالكين الى صراط رب العالمين)—a book on Ṣūfīism—which he dedicated to Shāh'ālam.

[Abjad 931]

B. *Risālatu 'l-mughālaṭah* (رسالة المغالطة): Delhi 1516.

50. *Mullā* Muḥammad b. Ni'mat Allāh, called Ibn Sharaf (1224/1809).

B. *Al-Dawḥatu 'sh-shāmikhah fī sharḥi 'l-uṣūli 'r-rāsikhah* (الدوحة الشامخة في شرح الاصول الراسخة): Rāmpūr 388.

51. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn b. *Mullā* Muḥib Allāh of Lucknow (1225/1810).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

A. *Mir'ātu 'sh-shurūḥ, sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (مرآة الشروح شرح سلم العلوم)

MSS. Rāmpūr 456 ; 'Alīgarh 86 ; Nadwah 441.

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1371 ; Rāmpūr 448 ; Bānkīpūr 2294.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-āḤshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpūr 445; 'Alīgarh 84 ; Nadwah 432; Āṣafiyyah iv 622.

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 't-Takrīr* (الحاشية علي التكرير): Bengal I 292.

iv. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): 'Alīgarh 82.

52. Ḥaydar 'Alī b. Ḥamd Allāh of Sandīla (1225/1810)..

He completed his education under his own father, *Qāḍī* Aḥmad 'Alī and *Mullā* Bāb Allāh of Jawnpūr. He had a large number of pupils, of whom *Qāḍī* Irtiḍā 'Alī Khān of Gupāma'ū, Sayyid Dildār 'Alī and Nūr Allāh Farangī Maḥallī may be mentioned here.

(Tadhkirah 54).

B. *Al-Taḥrīrāt 'alā sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm li Ḥamd Allāh* (التحريرات على شرح سلم العلوم لحمد الله): Rāmpūr 434.

C. i. *Al-Ta'līqāt 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (التعليقات علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Tadhkirah 54.

ii. *Al-Ta'līqāt 'ala 'l Hāshiyati 'z Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (التعليقات علي الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية) : Ibid.

iii. *Takmilah Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm li Ḥamd Allāh* (تكملة شرح سلم العلوم لحمد الله): Ibid.

53. *Hakīm* Sharīf Khān b. *Hakīm* Wāṣil Khān of Delhi (1231/1815).

He was a famous physician of Persian extraction who settled in India and vied with 'Alawī Khān, the well-known physician of Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, in reputation as a successful medical practitioner and Arabic scholar. These two *Hakīms* became the focus of the later Indian physicians who traced their sources of learning to the one or to the other. The descendants of Sharīf Khān still retain some reputation for medical skill at Delhi.

[1. Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn's Bustān-i-Siyāḥat, 2. Tadhkirah 85, 3. Bānkīpūr 48.]

(For other works of his, refer to section VII, medicine.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Ḥamd Allāh* (الحاشية علي حمد الله شرح سلم العلوم): Būhār 306; Rāmpūr. 439.

54. 'Ubayd Allāh Asad 'Alī b. Muḥammad A'lam al-Mawdūdī (Composed in 1234/1818).

B. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Āṣafiyyah iv 624.

55. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī *Baḥru 'l-'ulūm* of Lucknow (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VII.)

A. i. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Būhār 302; Āṣafiyyah ii 1574, 'Alīgarh 88.

ii. *Ta'līqāt 'alā Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (التعليقات على شرح سلم العلوم): see Būhār 303.

MSS. Būhār 303; Rāmpūr 463; Bānkīpūr 2327; 'Alīgarh 82; Āṣafiyyah ii 1580 where it is mentioned as the *Minhiyyah* (منهية على شرح السلم).

iii. *Ḥāshiyah 'Alā Muthannāt bi 't-takrār* (الحاشية على المثناة بالتكرار): Bri. Mus.

iv. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): see Bānkīpūr 2272.

MSS. Rāmpūr 443; Bānkīpūr 2272; Āṣafiyyah ii 1566.

v. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): see Bānkīpūr 2295.

MSS. Rāmpūr 446.

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Būhār 334; Rāmpūr 382; Bānkīpūr 2376; 'Alīgarh 81.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Ḍābiṭati 'l-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية على ضابطة التهذيب): Bengal II 74; Rāmpūr 457; Delhī 1502; Āṣafiyyah ii 1576.

iii. *Ta'līqāt 'ala 'l-Ufuqi 'l-mubīn* (التعليقات علي الافق المبين): Rampur 830.

iv. *Al-'Ujjālatu'n-Nāfi'ah* (العجالة النافعة): Rampur 399.

56. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VIII, X, XI.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampur 446; 'Alīgarh 82.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1500.

iii. *Hāshiya 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية علي الصدرا): Rampur 384.

57. Muhammad Khayru 'd-Dīn of Jawnpur (1243/1827).

[**1.** Elliot viii 237, **2.** J.A.S.B. XXIII 284, LXXI part I, p. 313, **3.** Buhar 332.]

A. *Naqdu 'l-jawāhir fī sharḥ Zawāhiri 'l-jawāhir* (نقد الجواهر في شرح ظواهر الجواهر).

MSS. Buhar 332.

58. Faḍl Imām of Khayrabād (1243/1827).

He was a pupil of Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Wājid of Khayrabad and held the post of *ṣadru 's ṣudūr* at Shāhjahānabād.

A. i. *Tashḥīdhu 'l-adhhān fī sharḥi 'l-Mīzān* (تشحيذ الاذهان في شرح الميزان):

MSS. Delhi 1529; Āṣafiyyah ii 1566.

ii. *Mirqāt* (مرقاة)

MSS. Delhi 1529, 1545.

iii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية)

MSS Bankipur 2273.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Delhi 1513.

ii. *Talkhīṣ al-Shifā'* (تلخيص الشفاء): Rāmpur 381; 'Aligarh 80.

59. 'Alī Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd Khān (Composed in 1248/1832).

B. *Hidāyatu 'l-manṭiq Sharḥ Tahdhībi 'l-manṭiq* (هداية المنطق شرح تهذيب المنطق): Nadwah 439-40.

60. Shāh Rafī'u 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, X, XI.)

B. i. *Takmīlu 'ṣ-ṣan'ah* (تكميل الصنعة): Nadwah 458; Bankipur 2329; Rampur 435.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rampur 454.

iii. *Muqaddimatu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-iktisāb* (مقدمة العلم والاكتساب): Nadwah 460.

iv. *Risālah fī I'tibārāti 'l-Māhiyyah* (الرسالة في إعتبارات الماهية): Nadwah 459; Āṣafiyyah ii 1578.

61. *Qāḍī* Muḥammad Irtiḍā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān of Gupāma'ū (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, V, IX.)

A. i. *Al-Taṣrīḥ fi 'l-manṭiq* (التصريح في المنطق): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bānkīpūr 2330; Āṣafiyyah iv 620.

ii. *Sharḥ Sharḥi 't-Tahdhīb* (شرح شرح التهذيب): see Āṣafiyyah ii 1574.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rāmpūr 384; Āṣafiyyah ii 1198.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbīyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Āṣafiyyah ii 1574; iv 622.

iii. *Al-Ta'līqāt 'alā sharḥi Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (التعليقات على شرح سلم العلوم لحمد الله سنديلي): Āṣafiyyah iv 620.

62. Muḥammad Ismā'īl Landanī (1253/1837).

Originally a resident of Murādābād, he used to live at Lucknow. He was a clever fellow, well versed in literature. He was deputed by *Nawwāb* Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ḥayder, ruler of Lucknow, to go to London to represent his case before the British Government. He married an English lady there and returned home with her.

(Tadhkirah 279).

C. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Tahdhīb* (الحاشية على شرح التهذيب لليزدي): Ibid.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā 'l-Maybudhī* (الحاشية على الميبذي): Ibid.

63. Muḥammad Ẓahūr Allāh b. Muḥammad Walī b. *Muftī* Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Lucknow (1256/1840).

(For another work of his, see section V.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Rāmpūr 446; Delhi 1395; 'Alīgarh 82; Bānkīpūr 2296.

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'd-Dawḥati 'l-mayyādah* (الحاشية علي الدوحة الميادة في حديقة الصورة والمادة): Rāmpūr 381.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpūr 445; Āṣafiyyah ii 1580.

64. Muḥammad Mu'īn b. *Mullā* Muḥammad Mubīn of Lucknow (1258/1842).

He received his education from his elder brother Muḥd Ḥaydar, Walī Allāh and Ẓuhūr Allāh of Lucknow. In *Hadīth* he was a pupil of 'Abdu 'l-Ḥafīẓ Makkī. He wrote several books, of which, besides the undermentioned work, the *Ghāyatu 'l-bayān fīmā yata'allaqu bi 'l-ḥayawān*, (غاية البيان فيما يتعلق بالحيوان), the *ghāyatu 'l-kalām fī 'l-qirā'at khalf imām* (غاية الكلام في القراءة خلف امام) and the *Ibrāzu 'l-kunūz* (ابراز الكنوز في احوال ارباب الرموز) may be mentioned here.

[**1.** Ātharu 'l-uwal 30, **2.** Tadhkirah 228.]

C. *Hāshīyah 'ala 'l-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية علي الصدرا): Ibid.

65. Muḥammad 'Alī b. *Muftī* Yār Muḥammad al-Malaybārī (Composed in 1260/1844).

A. ***Kawākibu 'l-'irfān fī taḥqīqi 's-subḥān al-mulaqqab bi 's-sab'ati 's-sayyārah*** (كواكب العرفان في تحقيق السبحان الملقب بالسبعة السيارة): see Āṣafiyyah iii 672.

66. Muḥammad Aḥsan *Wā'iẓ* known as *Ḥāfiẓ* Darāz of Peshawar (1263/1846).

He was the son of *Ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad Ṣādiq *Wā'iẓ* b. *Ḥāfiẓ* Muḥd. Ashraf of Peshāwar. Besides the works mentioned below, he wrote both in Arabic and Persian several books of which the ***Manhaju 'l-Bārī*** (منهج الباري): (Persian commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī*), the *Tafsīr Yūsuf* (تفسير يوسف): the *Tafsīr Wa 'ḍ-ḍuḥā* (تفسير والضحي) and ***Mi'rāj nāmah*** (معراج نامه) may be mentioned here.

[1. Ḥadā'iq 473, 2. Tadhkirah 60.]

A. ***Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Qāḍī Mubārak 'alā Sullami 'l-'ulūm*** (الحاشية علي شرح قاضي مبارك علي سلم العلوم): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Buhār 308; Rāmpūr 441; Peshawar 1686.

67. Walī Allāh b. Ḥabīb Allāh of Lucknow (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VIII.)

B. i. ***Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā*** (الحاشية علي الصدرا): Rampūr 381.

ii. ***Al-Tanbīhāt fī baḥthi 't-tashkīk fī 'l-māhiyyāt*** (التنبيهات في بحث التشكيك في الماهيات): Rāmpūr 381.

iii. *Sharḥ Tadhkirati 'l-mīzān* (شرح تذكرة الميزان): 'Alīgarh 83.

68. Khādim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḥaydar b. Muḥd. Mubīn of Lucknow (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

A. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mir'āti 'sh-shurūḥ* (الحاشية على مرآة الشروح): Bri. Mus.

69. Sayyid Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Dildār 'Alī Naṣīrabādī (1271/1854).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V.)

B. *Al-Tal'iqāt 'alā Ḥamd Allāh* (التعليقات على حمد الله): Rampūr 434.

70. Aḥmad 'Alī 'Abbāsī of Chiryākot* (1272/1855).

He is one of the eminent scholars of his time, well versed in all the branches of Islamic learning.

[Tadhkirah 20]

C. i. *Nūru 'l-nwāẓir fī 'ilmi 'l-munāẓarah* (نور النواظر في علم المناظرة): Ibid,

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mīr Quṭbī* (الحاشية على مير قطبي): Ibid.

iii. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Ibid.

71. Faḍl Ḥaqq b. Faḍl Imām Khayrabādī (1278/1861).

(For another work of his, see sections IV, VIII, XI.)

A. i. *Al-Hadiyyatu 's-sa'īdiyyah* (الهدية السعيدية).

*Chiryakot is a village in A'zamgarh District, U.P.

MSS. Rampur 405; Bankipur 2403; Āṣafiyyah ii 1216.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ Qāḍī Mubārak* (الحاشيه على شرح قاضي مبارک).

MSS. Rampur 440; Bankipur 2317.

B. i. *Risālah fi Radd 'ala 'l-qā 'ilīn bi ḥarakati 'l-arḍ* (الرساله في رد علي القائلين بحركت الارض): Berlin 5114.

ii. *Risālah fī Taḥqiqi 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ma'lūm* (الرساله في تحقيق العلم و المعلوم): Rampur 392.

iii. *Risālah fi Qāṭīghūriyās* (الرساله في قاطيغورياس): Ibid. 392.

iv. *Al-Kāfī li ḥall Īsāghūjī* (الكافي لحل ايساغوجي): Ibid. 460.

v. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-ufuqi 'l-mubīn* (الحاشيه علي الافق المبين): 'Alīgarh 87.

vi. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-minhiyyah li Qāḍī Mubārak 'alā Sharḥihī* (الحاشيه على المنهيه لقاضي مبارک على شرحه علي السلم): Bankipur 2315.

C. i. *Al-Jinsu 'l-ghālī fī sharḥi 'l-Jawāhiri 'l-'ālī* (الجنس الغالي في شرح الجواهر العالي): Tadhkirah 164.

ii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-kulliyyi 't-tabī'ī* (الرساله في تحقيق الكلي الطبيعي): Ibid.

iii. *Risālah fī Taḥqīqi 'l-ajsām* (الرساله في تحقيق الاجسام): Ibid.

72. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn 'Uthmānī Labkanī (in the 13th century.)

(For another work, see section III.)

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣadrā* (الحاشيه علي الصدرا): Rāmpūr 384; Bankipur 2378; **'Aligarh 81.**

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ Ḥamd Allāh 'alā Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (الحاشيه علي شرح حمد الله علي سلم العلوم): Buhār 307; Rāmpūr 440; Delhi 1414; 'Aligarh 83.

iii. *Al-Qawlu 'l-fayṣal, ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (القول الفيصل الحاشيه علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبيه): Rāmpūr 4,4; Bankīpūr 2274; 'Aligarh 78, 88.

iv. *Risālah al-'Asharatu 'l-kāmilah fī taḥqīqi 'l-'ilm wa 'l-ma 'lūm* (الرسالة العشرة الكامله في تحقيق العلم و المعلوم): Rāmpūr 449; 'Aligarh 87.

v. *Al-'uqūdu 'l-wāthiqah* (العقود الواثقه): Bengal II 76; Nadwah 454.

vi. *Al-Fi'lu 'l-jamīl* (الفعل الجميل يعني الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية الجلاليه): Bānkīpūr 2297; 'Aligarh 89.

vii. *Al-Jadhru 'l-abkam* (الجذر الابكم): 'Alīgarh 189

73. Nūru 'l-Islām b. Shaykh al-Islām of Rāmpūr (13th century).

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ Qāḍī Mubārak* (الحاشيه علي شرح قاضي مبارك علي سلم العلوم): see Āṣafiyyah ii 1568.

B. i. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشيه علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبيه): Rāmpūr 446.

ii. *Risālah fī Māhiyyati 'l-makān* (الرسالة في ماهية المكان): Ibid 393.

74. Asad Allāh Panjabī (13th century).

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala Hamd Allāh* (الحاشية على حمد الله): Rāmpūr 440; Nadwah 83.

ii. *Risālah fī 'Ilmi 'l-Wājib* (الرسالة في علم الواجب): Rāmpūr 392

iii. *Sharh Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Bānkīpūr 2325.

iv. *Hāshiyah 'ala 's-Ṣadrā* (الحاشية على الصدرا): Rāmpūr 383.

75. 'Abdu 'l-Ghafūr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Sarhindī (13th century).

B. *Al-Sharhu 'l-mubīn sharh Sullami 'l-ulūm* (الشرح المبين شرح سلم العلوم): Delhi 1452.

76. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muhd. Muṣṭafā (13th century).

B. *Risālah fī Sharhi 'l-Muqddimah* (الرسالة في شرح المقدمة): Rāmpūr 450.

77. Ghulām Nabī of Shāhjahānpur (13th century).

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Rāmpūr 440 ; Nadwah 435 ; Delhi 1380.

78. Tāju 'd-Dīn Ahmad al-'Abbāsī (13th century).

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Rāmpūr 448.

79. Muhammad Walī b. Wāhid 'Alī Khān (13th century).

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Ibid. 446.

80. Rustam 'Alī of Rāmpūr (13th century).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Ibid. 445.

81. Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān (13th century)

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala l-Hāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Quṭbiyyah* (الحاشية علي الحاشية الزاهدية القطبية): Ibid.

82. Quṭb 'Ālam of Murādabād (13th century).

B. *Risalah fī 'l-Kulliyyi 'ṭ-ṭabī'ī* (الرسالة في الكلي الطبيعي): Ibid 392.

83. Fayḍ Aḥmad b. Shaykh Muhammad (13th century).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Ḥāshiyati Ghulām Yaḥyā** (الحاشية علي حاشية غلام يحيي): Ibid. 437; Nadwah 82.

84. *Abu 'l Mazhar Sharafu 'd-Din Muhammad* (13th century).

B. *Sharh Sullam i 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Bānkipur.

85. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. *Muftī* Abu 'l Ḥasan (13th century).

B i. *Ghāyatu 'l-kalām fī ḥaqīqati 't-taṣdīq 'ind 'l ḥukamā' wa 'l imām* (غاية الكلام في حقيقة التصديق عند الحكماء والامام): Rāmpur 459.

ii. *Minhāju 'l-mi'rāj sharḥ Mi'rāji 'l-'ulūm* (منهاج المعراج شرح معراج العلوم): Nadwah 448.

*See No. 26 of this Section.

86. 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad of Sahāranpur (13th century).

B. *Sharḥ Sullami 'l-'ulūm* (شرح سلم العلوم): Rampur 456.

87. Ghulām Subḥān (13th century).

A distinguished scholar of Bengal in the 13th century A.H., who was for some time a teacher at the Calcutta Madrasah and afterwards *Qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Bengal.

[Bankīpur 2298]

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Bankīpur 2298.

88. *Ḥāfiẓ* 'Alī Aṣghar of Fayḍābād (13th century).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Ḥāshiyah Ghulām Yaḥyā* (الحاشية على الحاشية غلام يحيى): Āṣafiyyah ii 1658.

89. 'Abdu 'l-Malik (13th century).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥi 'l-Qāḍī* (الحاشية علي شرح القاضي): Peshāwar 1737.

*WORKS OF DOUBTFUL OR UNKNOWN DATES.**

1. Muḥammadu 'd-Dīn, commonly called Mohan b. 'Abd Allāh of Bihār.†

B. *Sharḥ Risālati 'l Mughālaṭah* (شرح رسالة المغالطة لمحمود البخاري): Bankīpur 2312.

*All these works most likely belong to the 13th century.

†Bankīpur No. 2312 suggests that he flourished in the 11th century A. H.

2 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāḍī.

. *Ḥallu 'ḍ-Ḍābiṭah* (حل الضابطة): Rāmpūr 148.

3. Jār Allāh of Allahabad.

B. *Risālah fī Tashrīḥi 'l-Mughālaṭati 'l-'āmmati 'l-wurūd* (الرسالة في تشريح المغالطة العامة الورود): Delhi 1568/E.

4. Muḥammad Akram b. Muḥammad Na'īm.

B. *Risālah fi 'l-Manṭiq* (الرسالة في المنطق): Rāmpūr 450.

5. 'Abd Allāh of the Panjab.

B. *Nuṣratu 'l-ḥawāshī* (نصرة الحواشي): Rāmpūr 466.

6. Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'farī Jawnpūrī.

B. *Nūru 'l-anwār sharḥi 'l-Ādāb* (نور الانوار شرح الآداب): Nadwah 577.

7. Muṣṭafā Khān.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyat 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Ibid. 454.

8. Khān-i-'ulūm.

. B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Ḥāshiyati 'z-Zāhidiyyati 'l-Jalāliyyah* (الحاشية على الحاشية الزاهدية الجلالية): Ibid 453.

9. Muḥammad Bāqī.

B. *Risālah fī 'l-Kulliyyi 't-tabī'i* (الرسالة في الكلي الطبيعي): 'Alīgarh 79.

10. Ghulām Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Jā'isī.

. *Risālah fī Nafyi 'l-kulliyyi 't-ṭabi'ī* (الرسالة في نفي الكلي الطبيعي): 'Āṣafiyyah ii 1738,

SECTION VII

MATHEMATICS AND MEDICINE

PART A. MATHEMATICS

1. Wajihu 'd-Din al-'Alawi Gujarati (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala Sharh al-Jaghmini* [1](حاشية على شرح الجغميني): Tadhkirah 250.

2. Nūr Allāh Shustari (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, IX.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥ al-Jaghmīnī* (حاشية علي شرح الجغميني): Kashf.

3. *Hakīm* Mir Hāshim Jilāni (1061/1650).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.)

B. i. *Risālah fi 'Ilmi 'l-mūsīqī* (الرسالة في علم الموسيقي): Rāmpūr 414.

ii. *Sharḥ Taḥrīr uṣūlī 'l-handasah wa 'l-ḥisāb* [2](شرح تحرير اصول الهندسة و الحساب): Ibid 415; Miftāḥ 2032.

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1. الجغميني means الملخص في الهيئة by Mahmud b. Ahmad Jaghmini. شرح الجغميني is the commentary on the above work by Musa b. Mahmud known as قاضي زادة الرومي

2. تحرير اصول الهندسة و الحساب is also called تحرير اقليدس and is the work of ابو جعفر نصير الدين طوسي.

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Mijisṭī* (شرح المجسطی): Rāmpur 415.

iv. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Taḥrīr uqlīdas** (الحاشیه علی تحریر اقلیدس): Maḥbūb 190.

4. 'Iṣmat Allāh b. 'Aẓmat Allāh' of Sahāranpur (1089/1678).

(For other work of his, see sections IV, IX)

A. i. *Anwār Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (انوار خلاصة الحساب).

MSS. Peshāwar 1694; Loth 759; Rāmpur 416; Nadwah 583; 'Alīgarh 120; Bānkīpūr 2424.

ii. *Sharḥ Tashrīḥi 'l-aflāk* (شرح تشریح الافلاک).

MSS. Āṣafiyyah i 794; Rāmpur 427; Nadwah 585; Bānkīpūr 2458.

B. *Ḍābitah qawā'idi 'l-ḥisāb* (ضابطه قواعد الحساب): Bengal N. a. 6.

5. Luṭf Allāh *al-Muhandis* b. al-Ustādh Aḥmad *al-Mi'mār* (d. after 1092/1681).

He belonged to a family of Lahore, whose three generations were well known for architecture, engineering and mathematics. His father *Ustād* Aḥmad and uncle Ḥāmid were the chief architects and designers of the Fort and the famous mosque of Delhi and of the celebrated Tāj Maḥall of Agra. Luṭf Allāh himself was an eminent mathematician and engineer under whose supervision the

* Perhaps it is the same work as the above mentioned شرح تحریر اصول الهندسة.

city of Shāhjahānābād was built. His brothers and his son were also eminent architects. Luṭf Allāh was also a Persian poet, Muhandis being his *takhalluṣ.* Besides the works mentioned below, he was the author of several works, which are in Persian.

[1. Maḥbūb 409, 2. Rieu, Persian p. 451.]

B. *Sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (شرح خلاصة الحساب): Loth 761; Rāmpūr 416.

6. Imāmu 'd-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh *al-Muhandis* (1146/1733).

Like his father, he was well versed in mathematics and architecture. He was also a Persian poet.

[1. Safīnah-i-Khushgū, 2. Ḥusayn Qulī Khān 'Aẓīmābādī's Nishtar-i-'ishq, 3. Hamīshah bahār by Kishan Chand Ikhlāṣ, 4. Makhzanu 'l-gharā'ib by Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Sandilawī, 5. Tadhkirah 262.]

A. i. *Al-Taṣrīḥ fī sharḥ Tashrīḥi 'l-aflāk* (التصريح في شرح تشريح الافلاك).

MSS. Rāmpūr 422; Delhi 1937.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jaghmīnī* (حاشية علي شرح الجغميني).

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb li abīh* (حاشية على شرح خلاصة الحساب لابيه): see Loth 716.

7. Mu'tamad Khān Rustam b. Diyānat Khān Qubād Ḥārithī Badakhshī (in Awrangzīb's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

He went to Portugal in the time of Awrangzīb.

[See Loth 769].

B. *Kitābu 'l-Maqā'īs* (كتاب المقائيس): Loth 764; Bri. Mus. Cat. 443 (a portion).

8. Barakat Allāh* (12th century).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI.)

B. i. *Sharḥ Taḥrīr uṣūli 'l-handasah wa 'l-ḥisāb* (شرح تحرير اصول الهندسة و الحساب): Bankipur 2435.

ii. *Sharḥ Taḥrīr uqlīdas* (شرح تحرير اقليدس): Rāmpur 415.

9. *Shaykh* Sulaymān b. Abi 'l-Fatḥ al-Kashmīrī (in 12th century).

B. *Lubbu 'l-lubāb sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (لب اللباب شرح خلاصة الحساب): Rāmpur 417.

10. Muḥammad Rashīdu 'd-Dīn (12th century).

He dedicated the work mentioned below to Prince Raḍiyyu 'd-Dīn 'Alī, the grandson of Jahāndār Shāh of Delhi (1124/1712).

B. *Sharḥ Tashrīḥi 'l-aflāk* (شرح تشريح الافلاك): Bankipur 2459.

11. Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān Kashmīrī known as Khān-i-'allāmah b. Asad Allāh Khān (1215/1800).

He was born at Siyalkot and completed at Shāhjahānabād his studies of Arabic literature and Philosophy under Wajību'd-Dīn (a pupil of *Mullā* Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Sihālawī) and of mathematics under Mirzā Muḥd. 'Alī b. Mirzā Khayr Allāh. At the age of 18, he shifted to Lucknow where as a pupil of *Mawlawī* Muḥd. Ḥasan, he gained a name and fame and became the tutor of Nawāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. Originally he belonged to a Sunnī family, but he himself was converted to Shī'ism. He knew English and even Latin. He was chiefly interested in mathematics. In addition to the

* Or Muhd. Barakat of 13th century. See Bankipur 2435.

works mentioned below, he is said to have composed many works. He died at Calcutta.

[1. Tadhkirah 36, 2. Tadhkirah-i-bi-baha by S Muhammad Husayn 94.]

B. *Risālah fī al-Makhrūṭāt* (الرسالة في المخروطات): Miftah 2033.

C. *Kitāb fī 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الكتاب في الجبر و المقابلة): Tadhkirah 37.

12. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj (1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III.)

B. *Sharḥ Khulāṣati 'l-ḥisāb* (شرح خلاصة الحساب): Rampur 416.

13. Rawshan 'Alī (1225/1810).

[See MS. Ta'rīkh-i-Farrukhābād in Bri. Mus. f. 177.]

B. *Risālah fi 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الرسالة في الجبر و المقابلة): Rampur 413.

14. 'Abdu 'l-'Alī Baḥru 'l-'ulūm (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV, V, VI.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Mijisṭī* (شرح المجسطي): Bengal E. B. 5.

15. Muhammad Salīm (1266/1849).

[Tajallī 128]

C. *Risālah fi 'l-Jabr wa 'l-muqābalah* (الرسالة في الجبر و المقابلة): Ibid.

16. 'Alī Kabīr b. 'Alī Muḥammad (1269/1852).

[Tajallī 124.]

C. i. *Makhrūṭāt-i-jabrī* (مخروطات جبري)*:

ii. *Makhrūṭāt-i-Handasī* (مخروطات هندسي):

17. *Munshī* Mannūn Lal *al-Mutakhallis bi Falsafī* Dihlawī b. Rāy Mohan Singh 'Āṣī b. Rāy Lakrāj Muḥammad Shāhī b. Rāy Nand Rām 'Ālamgīrī b. Rāy Khatīl Dās Shāhjahānī (in early part of 13th century).

He belonged to a learned Hindū family of Delhi which maintained the torch of Persian and Arabic scholarship from the 11th century A. H. till the 13th. He and his father and son all three were Persian poets. His son, *Munshī* Kundan Lāl Ashkī, has, in his preface to his *Muntakhab*, enumerated seven works of his father in addition to one menotined below.

[Bānkīpūr 2461]

B. *Al-'ujāb fī 'l-ḥisāb* (العجاب في الحساب): Rāmpūr 414.

18. *Munshī* Kundan Lāl *al-mutakhallis bī Ashkī* b. the above mentioned *Munshī* Mannūn Lāl Falsafī (composed in 1237/1822).

Like his father and grandfather, he was also a Persian poet. Only two works of his are known to exist, *viz.*, the work mentioned below and the †*Muntakhab*.

[Bānkīpūr 2461]

B. Al. Qisṭās (القسطاس) : Bānkīpūr 2461.

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*Both these works may be in Persian.

†See the Handlist of the printed books at the Bankipur Library No. 1340.

A WORK OF UNKNOWN DATE

Muḥammad 'Ābid of Delhi.

B. *Risālah fī Istikhrāji 'l-awsāṭi 'l-'ulaviyyah* (الرسالة في استخراج الاوساط العلوية): Rampūr 424.

PART B MEDICINE.

1. Shānāq al-Hindī (2nd century A. H.)

(For a short note on Shānāq refer to page 7. *Supra.*)

[1. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi 'ah's 'Uyūnu 'l-anbā' fī ṭabaqāṭi 'l-aṭibbā' ii 32, 2. JRAS (vi) old series, p. 108, 3. Macdonnell's History of Sanskrit Literature p. 434, 427, 4. Ibn Nadīm 271.]

B. *Kitāb al Sumūm** (كتاب السموم): Berlin 6411; Cairo vi.

2. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l Fattāḥ b. S. Ismā'īl al-Ḥusaynī of Lahore (composed in 949/1542).

B. *Sharḥ Qānūnjah* (شرح قانونجه): Āṣafiyyah ii 928.

3. *Ḥakīm* 'Alī al-Jīlānī entitled Jālīnūs-i-Zamān (1018/1609).

He came from Persia to India in very straitened circumstances; but soon became a personal attendant and friend of Akbar, the Great. In 988/1580 he was sent as an ambassador to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr; but on the sudden death of the Ādil Shāh he returned to Delhi. In 1595 he constructed the famous reservoir. The next year he was given the rank of 700 and the title of *Jālīnūs-i-zamān.*

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* It is not the original work of Shanaq; It is an Arabic translation by al-Abbas b. Sa'id al-Jawhari.

He was a great scholar, excelling his contemporaries in mathematics and medicine. He was renowned for his wonderful cures. In the time of Jahān-gīr he was raised to the rank of 2000; but this honour he enjoyed for a short time and died in 1018 A. H.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii 166, 2. Blochmann's Translation of Ā'īn-i-Akbarī i p. 466, 3. Ṭabaqāt f. 281, 4. Ma'āthiru 'l-umarā' i 568, 5. Beale 151.]

A. *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn* (شرح القانون). The portion of this commentary dealing with the Ku'lliyyāt was lithographed on the margin of al-'Āmulī's commentary at Lucknow in 1266 A. H.

MSS. Complete MS. in five volumes at Rāmpūr 485; first Vol. Bānkīpūr 35; Vols. III and IV: Āṣafiyyah ii 926; other incomplete copies: Bri. Mus. p. 744 and Loth No. 781.

4. Muḥammad Akbar called *Hakīm* Arzānī b. *Hājjī* Muḥd. Muqīm (in Awrangzīb's time 1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was an eminent physician and a great author. He is rightly known as Arzānī because he made the studies of medicine very cheap in India by translating the standard Arabic works on medicine into Persian. Among his Persian works, the *Ṭibb-i-Akbarī* (طب اكبرى), the *Mīzānu 't-ṭbb* (ميزان الطب), the *Mufarriḥu 'l-qulūb* (مفرح القلوب) the *Mujarrabāt-i-Akbarī* (مجربات اكبرى) and the *Muntakhabāt-i-Akbarī*, (منتخبات اكبرى) may be mentioned here.

[1. Tadhkirah 21, 2. Maḥbūb 465.]

A. *Ḥudūdu 'l-amrāḍ* (حدود الامراض).

MSS. Peshāwar 1505; Āṣafiyyah 920.

5. Muḥammad Dād al-Ḥanafī al-Qādarī al-Shaṭṭārī al-Burhānī (in the 11th century).

Concerning him nothing seems to be known except that he was a physician of the eleventh century A. H.

B. *Tanqīḥu 'l-mirāq wa 'l-iḥtirāq* (تنقيح المراق والاحتراق) : Bankipur 108 xix; Rāmpur 472.

6. Shaykh Kalīm Allāh Jahānābādī (1143/1730). (For another work of his, see section IV.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn* (شرح القانون): Rāmpur 486.

7. *Ḥakīm* Muḥammad Kāẓim entitled Ḥādhiqu 'l-Mulk b. Shī'ī *Mujtahid* Ḥaydar 'Alī al-Tastarī al-Najafī (1149/1736*).

B. *Al-Juz'u 'l-'amalī min Akmali 'ṣ-ṣanā'ah* (الجزء العملي من اكمل الصناعة): Bānkīpūr 84; Rāmpūr 468, 473†.

C. *Al-Juz'u 'l-'ilmī min Akmali 'ṣ-ṣanā'ah* (الجزء العلمي من اكمل الصناعة): mentioned in the preface to الجزء العملى.

8. *Ḥakīm* 'Azīzu 'r-Raḥmān alias Khudāyār Khān (composed in 1158/1745).

B. *Jāmi'u 'l-laṭāfat* (جامع اللطافة): Āṣafiyyah ii 918.

9. Mu'tamadu 'l-mulk Muḥd. Ḥāshim b. *Ḥakīm* Muḥammad Hādī called Sayyid 'Alawī Khān (1162/1749).

He belonged to a distinguished family of the physicians of Khurāsān. He was, however, born at

* This date according to the Rampur Library Catalogue (No. 14, 468); but according to Beale he must have died after 1150 A. H. in which year he is said to have composed a Persian work of his, entitled در حكاية نادرية (see Beale p. 210).

† On p. 473 Rampur the title is given جامع الصناعة which may comprise both the parts, theoretical and practical.

Shīrāz in 1080/1669. He received his early education from his father who was a good physician. In 1111/1699 he came to India and entered into the service of Awrangzīb who appointed him as a personal physician to Prince A'ẓam Shāh, afterwards known as Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, who, after his accession to the throne, conferred upon him the title of 'Alawī Khān. Afterwards he was patronized by Muḥammad Shāh who gave him the title of Mu'tamadu 'l-mulk and raised him to the rank of 6000. He was taken by Nādir Shāh to his capital but soon returned to India. He wrote several valuable works. In addition to the works, mentioned below, he was the auther of the *Jāmi'u 'l-Jawāmi'* (جامع الجوامع).

[**1.** Tadhkirah 150, **2.** Beale 69, **3.** Bānkīpūr **107.**]

B. i. *Qarābādīn* (قرابادين): Bānkīpūr 107 (only vol. I.)

ii. *Kitāb fī Aḥwāli 'l-a'ḍā'i 'n-nafīsah* (الكتاب في احوال الاعضاء النفيسة) : Rāmpūr 492.

iii. *Sharḥ Mūjiz* entitled *al-Tuḥfatu 'l-'Alawiyyah wa 'l-iḍāḥi 'l-'aliyyah* (شرح موجز المسمى با لتحفة العلوية والايضاح العلية): Ibid 487.

10. Muḥd Isḥāq Khān b. Ismā'īl Khān of Delhi (composed in **1182/1768**).

[See Maḥbūb 495; Bānkīpūr 40.]

B. i. *Ghāyatu 'l-fuhūm fī tadbīri 'l-maḥmūm* (غاية الفهوم في تدبير المحموم) : Bānkipūr 40; Rāmpūr 486.

ii. *Mawāridu 'l-ḥikam fī 'ilāji 'l-amrāḍ mina 'r-ra's wa 'l-qadam* (موارد الحكم في علاج الامراض من الرأس و القدم) : Rām-pūr 499.

11. *Hakīm* Muhammad Hāshim b. *Hakīm* Muhd. Ahsan b. Muhd. Afdal (composed in 1184/1770).

B. *Kashfu 'l-ishkālāt, hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-asbāb* (كشف الاشكالات حاشية علي شرح الاسباب) : Bankipur iv, 73.

12. *Hakīm* A'ajib b. Mu'ālij Khān (in 12th century.)

B. *Hāshiyatu 'n-Nafīsī* (حاشية النفيسي): Bankipur 46.

13. *Hakīm* Ahmad Allāh known as *Hakīm* Imām Bakhsh (composed in 1205/1790).

He was a pupil of Muhammad Ishāq Khān, and was in the service of Rājā Tiket Rā'y, Prime Minister of *Nawwāb* Āṣafu 'd-Dawlah of Oudh.

[Tadhkirah 26]

B. *Tahqīqu 'n-nbḍ* (تحقيق النبض) : Āṣafiyyah ii, 916.

C. i. *Ādābu 'l-Atibbā'* (آداب الاطباء): Tadhkiral 26.

ii. *Sharh Ādābi 'l-atibbā'* entitled *Ma'rakatu 'l-ārā'* (شرح آداب الاطباء الموسوم بمعركة الاراء) : Ibid.

14. *Hakīm* Muhd. Husayn Khān (composed in 1208/1793).

B. *Tanqīhu 'l-asbāb wa 'l-'alāmāt* (تنقيح الاسباب و العلامات) : Āṣafiyyah ii 918.

15. *Hakīm* Shifā'ī Khān (in the time of *Nawwāb* Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān of Oudh—1212-1229/1797-1813).

He was the son of *Hakīm* 'Abdu 'sh-Shāfī Khān Masīhu-'l-mulk and flourished during the reigns of Āṣafu 'd-Dawlah and Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān of Oudh.

[Bankipur iv No. 41]

B. i. *Sharḥ Kulliyyāti 'l-Qānūn* (شرح كليات القانون): Bānkīpūr 41.

ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'sh-shifā'iyyah* (الفوائد الشفائية): Rāmpūr 488; Āṣafiyyah 922.[1]

iii. *Kitābu 'l-Ḥummayāt* (كتاب الحميات): Bengāl I, 792.

16. *Ra'īsu'l-aṭibbā' Ḥakīm* 'Alī Sharīf of Lucknow (in the time of *Nawwāb* Ghāzī-al-Dīn Ḥaydar—1229-1243/1814-1827).

[Bānkīpūr 85]

B. *Asrāru 'l-'ilāj* (اسرار العلاج): Bānkīpūr 85; Āṣafiyyah[2] 914; 'Alīgarh 125.[3]

17. *Ḥakīm* Sharīf Khān b. *Ḥādhiq al-Mulk* Akmal Khān b. Wāṣil Khān of Delhi (1231/1815).

(For another work of his, see section VI.)

B. i. *Ḥāshiyatu 'n-Nafīsī* (حاشية النفيسي): Bānkīpūr 48.

ii. *Al-Fawā'idu 'sh-Sharīfiyyah: Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-asbāb wa 'l-'alāmāt* (الفوائد الشريفية الحاشية على شرح الاسباب و العلامات): Bānkīpūr 75; Āṣafiyyah ii 920; Bengāl II, 66.

iii *Sharḥu 'l-Qānūn 'ala 'l-ḥummayāt* (شرح القانون على الحميات): Rāmpūr 487.

iv. *Asrāru 'l-'ilāj* (اسرار العلاج): Āṣafiyyah ii, 914.

18. *Ḥakīm* Muḥammad Mahdī b. 'Alī Aṣghar b. Nūr Muḥammad Khān al-Harawī (1253/1837).

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1 In the Asafiyyah catalogue title is given as رسالة شفائي خان (see Ibid ii 922).

2 Here it is wrongly assigned to Mihr 'Ali who is not the author but the person to whom the author dedicated this work.

3 This Catalogue gives تعليقات على حميات القانون الموسوم باسرار العلاج والسراج الوهاج as the full title of the work.

He was the Prime Minister of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Ḥaydar, King of Oudh. He built the iron suspension bridge on the Kālīnadī at the expense of 70,000 rupees. He was dismissed from his post in 1248/1832 but was reinstated by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh in 1837. After this, he lived only a few months.

[1. Miftāḥu 't-tawārīkh 587, **2.** Beale 230.]

B. *Ḥilyatu 'l-wāṣifīn wa wishāḥu 't-ṭālibīn* (حلية الواصفين و وشاح الطالبين): Bānkīpūr 86.

19. *Hakīm* Masīḥu 'd-Dawlah 'Alī Ḥasan Khān (in the 13th century).

B. *Risālah fī Jawābi 'l-istiftā' 'an akl bīḍi 'd-dajājah li 'l-majdhūm* (الرسالة في جواب الاستفتاء عن اكل بيض الدجاجة للمجذوم): Āṣafiyyah ii 922.

20. Shaykh Darwīsh Muḥammad b. *Ḥāfiẓ* 'Alīm Khān (in the 13th century).

B. i. *Al-'Ujālatu 'n-Nāfi'ah* (العجالة النافعة): Āṣafiyyah ii 928.

ii. *Risālah fī 'l-adwiyati 'l-murakkabah* (الرسالة في الادوية المركبة): Bānkīpūr ii, 108 X.

21. *Hakīm* Muḥammad 'Alī of Lucknow (in the 13th century).

B. *Ajwibatu 's-sawālāt* (اجوبة السوالات): Āṣafiyyah ii 914.

22. *Hakīm* Mirzā Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Khān b. *Hakīm* Masīḥ al-Dawlah of Lucknow (in the 13th century).

A. *Al-Durru 'n-nafīs* (الدر النفيس): Āṣafiyyah ii 922.

A WORK OF UNKNOWN DATE

B. *Mabāḥithu 'l-aṭibbā'* (مباحث الاطباء): Āṣafiyyah ii. 934 by Fatḥu 'd-Dīn of Gupāmā'ū.

SECTION VIII

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

1. *Qaḍī* Jamālu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad known as Baḥraqu 'l-Ḥaḍramī (929/1522).

He was a resident of Ḥaḍramawt (Arabia) and was a scholar and a poet who, going to India joined the court of Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt for whom he composed the undermentioned biography of the Prophet.

[Al-Nūru 's-sāfir under the year 929.]

C. *Tabṣiratu 'l ḥaḍrati sh-shāhiyyati 'l-Aḥmadiyyah bi sirate 'l-ḥaḍrate 'n-nabawiyyati 'l-Aḥmadiyyah* (تبصرة الحضرة الشاهية الاحمدية بسيرة الحضرة النبوية الاحمدية): Ibid.

2. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍī Khān Maḥmūd al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī (990/1582).

(For a short biographical note refer to p. 145 *Supra.*)

[**1.** Al-Nūru 's-sāfir under the year 990, **2.** Al-Kawākib f. 174, **3.** Wüsten 534, **4.** Brockelmann ii, 381, **5.** Jurjī Zaydān iii, 309.]

(For another work, see section IX.)

A. i. *Al-I'lām bi a'lāmi'l-baladi Allāhi 'l-ḥarām* (الاعلام با علام بلد الله الحرام).

MSS. Berlin 6065-6; Goth 1708-9; Paris 1037-42; Bri. Mus. 326-7; Bānkīpūr 1088* (For other MSS. see Brockelmann ii 382).

*Here in the title the word *bayt* is given for the word *balad*.

ii. *Al-Barqu 'l-Yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ' il-'Uthmānī.* (البرق اليمانى في الفتح العثماني). MSS. Berlin 9742; Gothi 1616; Vienna 977; Paris 1644-50; Bri Mus. 1646; Rieu 588; (for other MSS. see Brockelmann ii 382.)

B. *Muntakhabu 't-ta'rīkh fi 't-tarājim* (منتخب التاريخ في التراجم) : Leid 2010.

3. Shaykh Zaynu 'd-Dīn al-Ma'barī b. 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz (d. 991/1583).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, IV.)

A. *Tuḥfatu 'l-mujāhidīn* (تحفة المجاهدين). MSS. Loth 714; Bri. Mus 94; Morley catalogue of history MSS. 13 (see Brockelmann ii, 416.)

4. Bahā'u 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Dīn b. 'Alā' al-Dīn (1014/1605).

He was born at Aḥmadābād in 961/1554. He accompanied his father to Mecca where he received education under his uncle Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nahrawālī and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī. After completing his education, he was employed as a teacher at the Madrasatu 'l-Murādiyyah. Later on he was appointed *muftī* at Mecca, and about 990/1582 he was made *imām* of the *Haram*. Besides the undermentioned work, he wrote a commentary on the *Saḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī*, entitled *Al-Nahru 'l-jārī 'alā Saḥīḥi 'l-Bukhārī* (النهر الجاري على صحيح البخاري).

[See Bankīpūr 1089]

B. *I'lāmu 'l-'ulamā'i-'l-a'lām bi-binā 'i 'l-masjadi 'l-ḥarām* (اعلام العلماء الاعلام ببناء المسجد الحرام) (it is an abridgment of the above mentioned (الاعلام باعلام بلد الله الحرام) : Bānkīpūr 1089.

5. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sirāja ’d-Dīn ‘Umar al-Nahrawālī al-Aṣafī al-ulagh-khānī. called Ḥājjī Dabīr (d. after 1020/1611).

(For a short biographical note refer to p. 147 *supra.*)

[Introduction by Sir Denison Ross to the Ẓafaru ’l-walih Vol. ii pp. xviii—xxvii.]

A. *Ẓafaru ’l-wālih bi Muẓaffar wa ālih* (ظفر الواله بمظفر وآله): edited in 3 Vols. by Sir Denison Ross.
MSS. Calcutta LXXXVI; Kutab-Khānah-i-‘Ārif Be at Madīnah (see the M‘ārif of A‘ẓamgarh vol. xviii p. 335.)

C. *Fawātiḥu ’l-iqbāl wa fawā’idu ’l-intiqāl* (فواتح الاقبال وفوائد الانتقال): see the introduction of the editor to the Ẓafaru ’l-walih Vol. ii, p. xix.

6. Abū Bakr Muḥyi ’d-Dīn ‘Abdu ’l-Qādir al-‘Aydarūs of Aḥmadabād (1038/1628).

(For other works of his, sections I, IV, V, X.)

A. *Al-Nūru ’s-sāfir fī akhbāri qarni ’l-‘āshir* (النور السافر في اخبار القرن العاشر).
MSS. Bri-Mus. 937 ; Bānkīpūr 659 ; Būhār 273 ; Rāmpūr 650 ; Āṣafiyyah i 344, ii 180.

B. i. *Al-Muntakhabu ’l-muṣṭafā min akhbār mawlidi ’ l-Muṣṭafā* (المنتخب المصطفى من اخبار مولد المصطفى): Berlin 9635.

ii. *Itḥāfu ’l-ḥaḍrati ’azīzah li ‘uyūni ’s-sīrati ’l-wajīzah* (اتحاف الحضرة العزيزة لعيون السيرة الوجيزة) : Ibid 9660.

iii. *Al-Rawḍu ' n-nāḍir fī man ismuhū 'Abdu 'l-Qādir* (الروض الناضر في من اسمه عبد القادر): Berlin 9890.

iv. *Ṣidqu 'l-wafā' bi ḥaqqi 'l-ikhā'*, (صدق الوفاء بحق الاخاء) : Ibid 10139.

v. *Risālah fī Manāqibi 'l-Bukhārī* (الرسالة في مناقب البخاري) : Buhār 454.

vi. *Is'āf ikhwānu 's-ṣafā' bi sharḥ tuḥfati 'ẓ-ẓurafā'* (اسعاف اخوان الصفاء بشرح تحفة الظرفاء): Ibid 201.

vii. *Mawlidu 'n-Nabī** (مولد النبي): Bengal I, 1025.

C. i. *Al-Anmūdhaju 'l-laṭīf fi ahli 'l-Badri 'sh-sharīf* (الانموذج اللطيف في اهل البدر الشريف): Vide his autobiography in the Nūr.

ii. *'Iqdu 'l-la'āl bi faḍā'ili 'l-āl* (عقد اللآل بفضائل الآل) : Ibid.

iii. *Qurratu 'l-'ayn fī manāqibi 'l-wālī Muḥammad Ḥusayn* (قرة العين في مناقب الوالي محمد حسين) : Ibid.

7. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Shadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī (1046/1636).

(for another work, see section II.)

B. *Zahru 'r-riyāḍ wa zulālu 'l-ḥiyāḍ* (زهر الرياض وزلال الحياض): Būhār 269; Bri-Mus. 365 (only third part); Delhi 1329 (a small portion); Nadhīr Aḥmad 73; (also see Brockelmann ii 416).

8. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī b. Sayfu 'd-Dīn of Delhi (1052/1642).

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* Perhaps it is the same work as the above mentioned No. 1.

(For other works of his see sections I, II, IV, V, VI.)

B. *Takmilah Madāriju 'n-nubuwwah* (تكملة مدارج النبوة) : Bengal I, 224.

9. Shaykh Muhammad Wā'iz of Delhi (Composed in 1064/1653).

B. *Jāmi'u 'l-mu'jizāt* (جامع المعجزات): Āṣafiyyah ii 868.

10. Malik Aḥmad b. al-Malik Pīr Muḥammad al-Fārūqī (in the eleventh century A. H.).

He was a zealons Sunnī scholar of India who, ordered by his teacher, Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (d. 1067/1657) wrote the undermentioned work to acquaint his co-religionists with the excellent deeds and virtues of the Companions of the Prophet, especially of the first four Caliphs.

[See Bānkīpūr 1047.]

B. *Zādu 'l-aḥbāb fī manāqibi 'l-aṣḥāb* (زاد الاحباب في مناقب الاصحاب) : Bānkīpūr 1047.

11. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq al-'Aydarūs (compiled in 1107/1705).

B. *Tuḥfatu 'l-aṣfiyā' ta'rīb Safīnati 'l-awliyā' li Dārā shukūh* (تحفة الاصفياء تعريب سفينة الاولياء لدارا شكوه) :Rampūr 332.

12. Ṣadru 'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ma'ṣūm, commonly called Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm al-Madanī (1117/1705).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, IX.)

A. *Sulāfatu 'l-'aṣr fī maḥāsin a'yāni 'l.aṣr bi kulli miṣr* (سلافة العصر في محاسن اعيان العصر بكل مصر) MSS. Būhār 270; Vienna 409; Berlin 7418-9; Bri. Mus. Bri. mus. 1647; Bānkīpūr xii, 795;

Āṣafiyyah i, 338; Bengal I, 494; Edenburgh 48; As'ad Efendı Āyā 2736.

B. i. *Al-Darajātu 'r-rafī'ah fī 'ṭ-ṭabaqāti 'l-imāmiyyah mina 'sh-shī'ah* (الدرجات الرفيعة في طبقات الامامية من الشيعة): Berlin 10050.

ii. *Sulwatu 'l-gharīb wa uswati 'l-arīb* (سلوة الغريب واسوة الاريب): Berlin 6146.

13. Muḥammad Ṣiddıq b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf b. Muhammad Laṭıf of Lahore (1192/1778).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

C. *Silku 'd-durar li akmali 'r-rusuli 'l-athar* (سلك الدرر لاكمل الرسل الاطهر): Ḥadā'iq 452.

14. Sayyid Ghulām 'Ali Azād Bilgrāmı (1200/1785).

(For other works of his, see sections II, X, XI.)

A. *Subḥatu 'l-marjān fi āthār Hindūstān* (سبحة المرجان فى آثار هندوستان).

MSS. Bānkıpur 810; As'ad Āyā 2732; Calcutta LXXXVIII; Āṣafiyyah i, 198.

15. Sayyid Dildār 'Alı Naṣırābadı Shı'ı Mujtahid (1235/1819).

(For other works of his, see sections III and V.)

B. *Ithāruta 'l-aḥzān 'ala 'l-qatīli 'aṭshān* (اثارة الاحزان علي القتيل العطشان): Bānkıpur 1059.

16. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azız b. Shāh Walı Allāh of Delhı 1239/1823).

(For other works of his, refer to sections I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XI.)

A. *Sirru 'sh-shahādatayn* (سر الشهادتين).*

17. Muhammad Karāmat 'Alī of Delhi (1248/1832).

A. *Al-Sīratu 'l-Muhammadiyyah* (السيرة المحمدية) MS. Āṣafiyyah iv, 380.

B. *Dhaylu 's-Sīrah* (ذيل السيرة): Āṣafiyyah iv 380.

18. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Yamanī al-Shirwānī (1256/1840).

He came to India, visited several large cities and finally settled at Calcutta. He was a good poet and prose writer. He wrote some panegyrics in the praise of Ghāzī al-Dīn Haydar, ruler of Lucknow.

[1. Tadhkirah 19, 2. Būhār 434.]

(See for other works of his, section X.)

C. *Shamsu 'l-iqbāl fī manāqib malik Bhūpāl* (شمس الاقبال في مناقب ملك بهوپال): Tadhkiral 19.

19. Muhammad Bahādur 'Alī Khān (composed about 1253/1837).

B. *Amīru 's-siyar fī hāl Khayri 'l-bashar* (امير السير في حال خير البشر): Rāmpūr 652.

20. Walī Allāh b. Habīb Allāh b. Muhibb Allāh Farangī mahalli of Lucknow (1270/1853).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, VI.)

A. *Al-Aghṣānu 'l-arba'ah* (الاغصان الاربعة).

1. Muhammad Fadl Haqq of Khayrābād (1278/1861).

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* The authorship of this work has been seriously challanged by the Sunnis who hold that this book was written by some shi'i scholar.

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI, XI.)

B. *Risālah fi Ta'rikhī 'l-ghadr* (الرسالة في تاريخ الغدر): Nadhīr Aḥmad 151; 'Alīgarh 136.

22. 'Abbās Mirzā b. Sa'īd Aḥmad Ḥusaynī (13th century).

B. *Al-Ḥiṣnu 'l-matīn fī ta'rīkh Oudh* (الحصن المتين في تاريخ اوده) : Bengal ii 104.

WORKS OF DOUBTFUL DATES.

1. Mamlūk 'Alī of Delhi.

B. *Ta'rīkh yamanī* (تاريخ يمنى): Bengal D. 20.

2. 'Abud Allāh of Aḥmadādadī.

B. *Rabī'u 'l-qulūb* (ربيع القلوب) : Bengal D. 25.

SECTION IX

PHILOLOGY

1. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī (650/1252).

(For other works of his, see sections II, XI.)

A. i. *Kitābu 'l-Aḍdād* (كتاب الاضداد).
MSS. Berlin 7092; Delhi 1281.

ii. *Kitābu 'dh-Dhi'b.* (كتاب الذئب).

iii. *Kitāb Yaf'ūl* (كتاب يفعول), see Mu'jam 1209.

B. i. *Al-'ubābu* 'z-zākhir wa 'l-lubābu 'l-fākhir* (العباب الزاخر, اللباب الفاخر): Āyā Ṣūfiyah 4702; Koprūli 1551—3, Cairo iv 175.

ii. *Al-Takmilah wa 'dh-dhayl wa 'ṣ-ṣilah* (التكملة , الذيل , الصلة) : Bri. Mus. p. 27; Berlin 6939; Cairo iv, 167; Koprīlī 1522.

iii. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-'Arūḍ* (المختصر في العروض): Berlin 7127.

iv. *Majma'u 'l baḥrayn fi 'l-lughah* (مجمع البحرين في اللغة) : Koprīlī 1570.

2. Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn 'Imrānī (in the time of Muḥd Tughlaq of Delhi—725-752/1324-1351).

(For another work of his see, section III.)

C. i. *Ḥāshiyatu 'l-Miftāḥ* (حاشية المفتاح) see Nuzhat p. 165 and also Elliot iv, 486.

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* Brockelmann wrongly gives its title as الاداب الزاخر (see Brock. p. 361).

ii. *Hāshiyatu 'l-Talkhīṣ* (حاشية التلخيص): Ibid.

3. Siraju 'd-Dīn 'Umar b. Isḥāq al-Hindī (773/1371).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III IV, V.)

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Badī' li Ibn al-Sā'ātī* (شرح البديع لابن الساعاتي): 'Āṭif 694; Walī al-Dīn 954; Qilij 301.

4. Sayyid Yūsuf Multānī (790/1388).

(For another work of his see, section III.)

C. *Yūsufī Sharḥ Lubbi 'l-albāb fī 'ilmi 'l i'rāb* (يوسفي شرح لب الالباب في علم الاعراب): Tadhkirah 256.

5. Badru 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Makhzūmī al-Iskandarī, known as al- Damāmīnī (827/1424).

(For another work of his, refer to section II.)

A. *Tuḥfatu 'l-gharīb fī sharḥ Mughnī al-labīb* (تحفة الغريب في شرح مغني اللبيب).
MSS. Berlin 6727-8; Loth 967; Leid 217; Escur 203. Cairo iv 75, Yenī nos. 1088-98; Ḥamīdiyyah 1316; Nūr 'Uthmāniyyah 4606; Munch 739; Nadwah 672; Āṣafiyyah ii 1644; 'Alīgarh 13. Bānkipūr 2120.

B. *Al-Manhalu'ṣ-ṣāfī sharhu 'l-Wāfī* (المنهل الصافي شرح الوافي): Loth 972; Rāmpūr p. 556. Bānkīpūr 2128.

6. *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zawulī Dawlatābādī (849/1445).

(For other works of his see, sections III, V, X.)

A. *Al-Irshād fi 'n-naḥw* (الارشاد في النحو): Printed at Haidarābād.

MSS. Bri. Mus. 525; Loth 974-5; Leyden 232; Khusraw Pāshā 663; Bengal B. 3; Āṣafiyyah ii, 1638; Rampur 525; Peshawar 1275; Buhar 394; Bānkipur 2130-31.

B. *Al-Sharḥu 'l-Hindī, Sharḥu 'l-Kāfiyah* (الشرح الهندي شرح الكافية) : Sulaymāniyyah 936; As'ad Efendi Madrasah 29; Maḥmud Pāshā ii, 347; Qilij 952; Āyāṣufiyah 4501; Walī-al-Dīn 2974; Lālah-lī 4314-6; Damād 1037; 'Abd Allāh 355; Loth 937; Delhi 1166, Berlin 6584-5; Bengal B. 26-27 Rāmpur 545; Āṣafiyyah 1652.*

7. Sa'du 'd-Dīn of Khayrābād (882/1417).

(For other works of his, see sections III, IV.)

C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Kāfiyah* (شرح الكافية): Tadhkirah 76.

ii. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Jāmī* (شرح شرح الجامي): Ibid.

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Miṣbāḥ* (شرح المصباح): Ibid.

8. Ṣafī b. Naṣīr b. Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn (9th century).

He was a descendant of *Imām* Abu Ḥanīfah. His grandfather Niẓāmu'd-Dīn migrated from Ghaznah to Delhi in the time of 'Alā'u 'd-dīn Khiljī and then to Jawnpur and married his son Naṣīru 'd-Dīn to *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī's daughter who gave birth to three sons, one of whom is our author. He completed his education under his maternal grandfather. Later on he became a disciple and *Khalīfah* of the saint Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr of Kachhochha. He wrote several books.

* Here غاية التحقيق has been wrongly given as the title of this work, or it may be the work of the next scholar.

[1. Tadhkirah 96, 2. Mahbub 495, 3. Buhar 382.]

B. *Ghāyatu 't-tahqīq* (غاية التحقيق) (a commentary on the Dawlat-ābādī's commentary on the Kāfiyah): Delhi 11-5; Āṣafiyyah 1652; Rāmpur 550; Bengal B. 59; Buhar 382; Bankipur 2052.

9. Khwājah Husayn Nāgūrī (9..1/1495).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Sharhu 'l-qismi 'th-thālith mina 'l-Miftāh* (شرح القسم الثالث من المفتاح): Tadhkirah 50.

10 Ilāh-dād Jawnpūrī (932/1525).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Ibid 25.

11. Shaykh Budh Bihārī (in the time of Shīr Shāh Sūrī—948-952/1542-1545).

He was an eminent scholar and a good physician for whom Shīr Shāh had a very high regard.

[Tadhkirah 31]

C. *Sharhu l'-Irshād* (شرح الارشاد): Ibid.

12. *Khatīb* Abu 'l-Fadl Gāzarūnī (959/1551).

(For other works of his, see sections I, V.)

B. *Shārhu 'l-Irshād* (شرح الارشاد): Bankipur 2132.

13. *Muftī* Jamāl Khān b. Naṣīru 'd-Dīn of Delhī (984/1576 .

He was the most eminent scholar and teacher of Kamboh tribe. He is said to have had no match in

jurisprudence, scholestic theology and Arabic literature. In addition to the works undermentioned, he wrote commentaries on the *'Aḍudī* and the *Anwāru'l-fiqh.*

[1. Badā'ūnī iii, 77, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 211 b, 3. Tadhkirah 44.]

A, *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi l-Jāmī* (حاشية علي شرح الجامي) : see Buhār 388.

NSS. Rāmpūr 535; Buhār 388.

14. Shaykh Jamālu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Fārūqī of Pattan (986/1578).

(For other works of his, see sections II.)

B. *Kifāyatu 'l-Mufṭiṭīn, Sharḥ al-Shāfiyah* (كناية المفر طين شرح الشافيه) Āṣafiyyah ii 898.

15. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥd. al-Nahrwālī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections VIII.)

B. i. *Al-Kanzu 'l-asmā fī fanni 'l-mu'ammā* (الكنز الاسما في فن المعمى) : Berlin 7346; Escur[2] 556;

B. ii. *Al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍarah* fi 'l-abyāti 'l-mufradati 'n-nādirah* (التمثيل والمحاضرة في الابيات المفردة النادرة) : Cairo iv, 229; Leid 356.

16. Makhdūmu 'l-Mulk 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī (990/1582).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

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*Brockelmann gives its title as تمثال الامثال السائرة في الابيات الفريدة النادرة also. (See Brockelmann ii, 382.)

C. *Sharḥ Sharḥ al-Jāmī* (شرح شرح الجامي): Ma'āthiru 'l-umarā' iii, 252.

17. Wajīhu 'd-Dīn of Gujarāt (998/1589).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V.)

B. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Buhār 387; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 4457; Maḥmūd Pāshā ii, 338; Rāmpūr 535; 'Amūjah Ḥusayn 408; Bengal I, 310; Delhi 1071; Āṣafiyyah i, 1644; Nadwah 684.

ii. *Sharḥ Irshādi 'n-naḥw* (شرح ارشاد النحو): Loth 976; Rāmpūr 539.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية على المطول): Tadhkirah 280.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Mukhtaṣari 'l-ma'ānī* (حاشية على مختصر المعاني): Ibid.

18. Ilāh-dād* of Lucknow (10th Century).

He was a scholar of the tenth Century, well-known for his learning and high intellects, and thoroughly qualified in the Muslim jurisprudence and Arabic literature.

[1. Badā'ūnī iii,85, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 213 b, 3. Tadhkirah 25.]

(For other works of his, see section X.)

C. *Quṭbī* (قطبي): Badā'ūnī iii, 85.

*This Ilāh-dād is not to be confused with Ilāh-dād of Jawnpur (d. 932/1525). (see No. 10 of this chapter.)

19. Abu 'l-Fayd Faydi b. *Shaykh* Mubārak (1004/1595).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

B. *Duraru 'l-kilam wa timmu 'l-hikam* (درر الكلم , طم الحكم) : Nadwah 334.

20. *Qādī* Nūr Allāh Shuṣtarī (1019/1610).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, V, VI, VII.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Hindī* (حاشية علي شرح الهندى) : Rampūr 536.

C. i. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ma'ānī wa 'l-bayān* (حاشية علي شرح المختصر في المعاني والبيان) : Kashf.

ii. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامى) : Ibid.

21. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (d. after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his see sections I, II, IV, V, IX, X.)

C. i. *Hāshiyah alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية علي شرح الجامي) : Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Sharh Irshād al-nahw* (شرح ارشادالنحو) : Ibid.

22. *Hakīm* Mīr Hāshim Jīlānī (1061/1650).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII Math.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشيه علي المطول): Rampūr 562.

23. ***Mullā*** Maḥmūd al-Fārūqī Jawnpūrī (1062/1651).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

B. ***Al-farā'id sharḥu 'l-fawā'id*** (الفرائد شرح الفوائد): Delhi 1207; Āṣafiyyah i, 158; Rāmpūr 567; Bengal H, 19; Bengal II, 486; Bankīpūr 2193.

24. ʻAbdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI.)

A. ***Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal*** (حاشية على المطول): MSS. Jāmi' Sharīfī 458; As'ad Efendī Madrasah 28; Sulaymāniyyah 887; Maḥmūd Pashā 331; Qilij 864; Walī-al-Dīn 2770; Fātiḥ 4563; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 2972; 'Āṭif 2328; Sarwīlī 267; Dāmād Qāḍī 1599; Ḥamīdiyyah 1230; 'Abd Allāh 336; Nūr 'Uthmānī 4424-25; Loth 876; Delhī 1192; Peshāwar 1161; Būhār 403; Bānkīpūr 2168-72; Nadwah 486. (For other MSS. in Europe, see Brockehman i, 295.)

ii. ***Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī*** (حاشية علي شرح الجامي).

MSS. Loth 930-1; Būhār 390; 'Alīgarh 130;

iii. ***Takmilah Ḥāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī*** (تكملة حاشية عبدالغفور الاري علي شرح الجامي) (lithographed at Lucknow in 1885).

MSS. Loth 928; Delhi 1055; Bengal B. 13; Calcutta LXX; Bānkīpūr 2057; Rāmpūr 536;

iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā hāshiyah 'Abd al-Ghafūr 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على حاشية عبدالغفور على شرح الجامي): see Bankipur 2060. MSS. Jāmi' Sharifi 538; Qilij 899; Sarwili 286; Cairo iv, p. 43; Loth 930; Bengal B. 22; Āsafiyyah ii, 1642; Calcutta LXXI.

25. Nūru 'l-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqi of Delhi (1073/1662).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Peshawar 1306; Āsafiyyah ii, 1644.

26. *Mullā* 'Abdu 'r-Rashid Jawnpuri (1083/1672).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

C. i. *Tadhkiratu 'n-nahw* (تذكرة النحو): Akhbāru 'n-nuhāt p. 125.

ii. *Bidāyatu 'n-nahw* (بداية النحو): Ibid.

27. 'Ismat Allāh Sahāranpūri (1890/1678).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII math-section.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Ismi Khān 377; 'Amūjah 407; Mahmūd Pashā ii, 337; Delhi 1065.

28. 'Ali Akbar b. 'Ali of Allahabad (1091/1680).

He was an eminent grammarian. Besides the works undermentioned, he also wrote a book in Persian on Arabic inflection under the title of *Fuṣūl-i-Akbarī* which

23. ***Mullā*** Maḥmūd al-Fārūqī Jawnpūrī (1062/1651).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, V.)

B. ***Al-farā'id sharḥu 'l-fawā'id*** (الفرائد شرح الفوائد): Delhi 1207; Āṣafiyyah i, 158; Rāmpūr 567; Bengal H, 19; Bengal II, 486; Bānkīpūr 2193.

24. 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakīm of Siyālkot (1067/1656).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, V, VI.)

A. ***Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal*** (حاشية على المطول): MSS. Jāmi' Sharīfī 458; As'ad Efendī Madrasah 28; Sulaymāniyyah 887; Maḥmūd Pashā 331; Qilij 864; Walī-al-Dīn 2770; Fātiḥ 4563; Āyā Ṣūfiyah 2972; 'Āṭif 2328; Sarwīlī 267; Dāmād Qāḍī 1599; Ḥamīdiyyah 1230; 'Abd Allāh 336; Nūr 'Uthmānī 4424-25; Loth 876; Delhī 1192; Peshāwar 1161; Būhār 403; Bānkīpūr 2168-72; Nadwah 486. (For other MSS. in Europe, see Brockehman i, 295.)

ii. ***Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī*** (حاشية علي شرح الجامي).

MSS. Loth 930-1; Būhār 390; 'Alīgarh 130;

iii. ***Takmilah Ḥāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī*** (تكملة حاشية عبد الغفور اللاري علي شرح الجامي) (lithographed at Lucknow in 1885).

MSS. Loth 928; Delhi 1055; Bengal B. 13; Calcutta LXX; Bānkīpūr 2057; Rāmpūr 536;

iv. *Hāshiyah 'alā hāshiyah 'Abd al-Ghafūr 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على حاشية عبد الغفور على شرح الجامي): see Bānkipūr 2060. MSS. Jāmi' Sharīfī 538; Qilij 899; Sarwīlī 286; Cairo iv, p. 43; Loth 930; Bengal B. 22; Āṣafiyyah ii, 1642; Calcutta LXXI.

25. Nūru 'l-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī of Delhi (1073/1662).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Peshāwar 1306; Āṣafiyyah ii, 1644.

26. *Mullā* 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd Jawnpurī (1083/1672).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI.)

C. i. *Tadhkiratu 'n-nahw* (تذكرة النحو): Akhbāru 'n-nuhāt p. 125.

ii. *Bidāyatu 'n-nahw* (بداية النحو): Ibid.

27. 'Iṣmat Allāh Sahāranpūrī (1890/1678).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, VII math-section.)

B. *Hāshiyah 'alā Sharhi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي): Ismī Khān 377; 'Amūjah 407; Maḥmūd Pashā ii, 337; Delhi 1065.

28. 'Alī Akbar b. 'Alī of Allahabad (1091/1680).

He was an eminent grammarian. Besides the works undermentioned, he also wrote a book in Persian on Arabic inflection under the title of *Fuṣūl-i-Akbarī* which

is very popular among the Indian students of Arabic elementary grammar.

[1. Rieu, Persian ii, p. 552 b. 2. Mahbub 422, 3. Bibliotheca Sprenger no. 1369].

A. *Al-Uṣūlu 'l-Akbariyyah* (الاصول الاكبريه): Bri. Mus.

MSS. Delhi 1001; Rampur 523.

B. *Sharḥu 'l-Uṣūli 'l-Akbariyyah* (شرح الاصول الاكبريه): Bengal B. 44; Calcutta LXXVI; Buhar 377; Rampur 52; Āṣafiyyah i, 892; Bānkipur 2137-38.

29. Muḥammad Farīd b. Muḥammad Sharīf Aḥmadābādī (in the 11th Century).

Nothing concerning his life seems to be known, except that he completed the undermentioned work in 1060/1649.

B. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشيه علي المطول): Bānkipur 2166.

30. Abu 'l-Labīb 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī (in the 11th Century).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III.)

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشيه علي حاشيه عبدالغفور علي شرح الجامي): in Bri. Mus.

31. Muḥamad Sharīf Kanbūb (in the 11th Century).

(For other works of his, see sections I, III, VI.)

B. i. *Risālah fi 's-ṣarf* (الرساله في الصرف): Bānkipur 1779, II.

ii. *Risālah fi 'n-naḥw* (الرساله في النحو) Ibid 1779, IV.

32. Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ghayth b. Mughalṭā'ı (wrote in 1116/1704).

He was in the service of Sulṭān A'ẓam Shāh b. Awrangzıb and wrote the work undermentioned for him.

[Brockelmann ii, 415]

B. *Mulḥatu 'l- badī' wa bahjatu 'l- badī'* (ملحة البديع و بهجة البديع): Paris 4431, ii.

33, Muḥammad Ḥusayn entitled Imāmu 'l-Mudarrisın (1108/1696).*

He belonged to the tribe called Nawā'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the holy city. His scholarship may be judged from the fact that Awrangzıb appointed him as the principal of the well known Madrasah-i-Maḥmūd Gāwān at Bedār (Deccan). He composed several works some of which are as follows : 1. ازهار الفاتحه 2. تشريح سورة الفاتحه 3. شرح عقائد اسمعيل المقري رساله ربع مجيب 4. تحبيب الطيب والنساء 5. شرح عقيدة عبدالله اليافعي 6. حاشيه على منهمك الي حضرة سيد الانبياء etc. These works are still to be found in the possession of his descendants in the Deccan.

[The periodical Al-Mu'allim of Hyderabad, Vol. V, Nos. 8-9.]

B. *Khulāṣatu 'l-Kāfiyah* (خلاصة الكافيه): in the possession of the author's descendants.

34. Ṣadru 'd-Dın 'Alı b. Aḥmad. b. Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Known as Sayyid 'Alı Khān or Ibn Ma'ṣūm (1117/1705).

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* Information regarding this author and the auther No. 47 of this section was kindly supplied to me by the latter's grandson-Dr. M. Hamīd Allāh of Hyderabad.

(For other works of his, see section IV, VIII.)

A. *Anwāru 'r-rabī' fī anwā'i 'l-badī'* (انوار الربيع في انواع البديع).

MSS. Rieu 990-1; Berlin 7384; Paris 3255; Cario iv, 209; Edenburgh 42; Leyden II ed. 340 ; Āṣatiyyah i, 144.

B. *Sharḥ Fawā'id Ṣamadiyyah* (شرح فوائد صمديه) : Āṣafiyyah iv 648.

35. *Mullā* Muhd. Muḥsin Kashmiri (1119/1707).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشيه علي المطول) Tadhkirah 212

36. Sayyid Muḥammad Qannawjī (in the time of Awrangzib 'Ālamgir—1069-1119/1659-1707).

He was one of the teachers of Awrangzib.

C. *Hāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشيه علي المطول): Tadhkirah 83.

37. 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb Qannawji entitled Mun'im Khān (1126/1714).

(For other works of his, see section IV.)

C. *Miftāḥu 's-ṣarf* (مفتاح الصرف) : Tadhkirah 139.

38 Ghulām Naqshband b. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Shafi'i of Lucknow (1126/1714).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

B. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Qaṣīdati l'-Khazrajiyyah* (شرح القصيدة الخزرجيه) : Rāmpūr 572 ; Nadhir Aḥmad 97 ; Nadwah 475 ;

Bānkipūr 2213 (II, 14.

ii. *Risālah fī 'Arūḍ abyāti 'l-Muṭawwal* (الرسالة في عروض ابيات المطول) : Nadwah 579 (2) ; Āṣafiyyah i, 150.

39. Bahā'u 'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāju 'd-Dīn Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, known as Fāḍil-i-Hindī (1137/1724).

(For other works of his, see section III.)

C. i. *Al-Talkhīṣ fi 'l-balāghah* (التلخيص في البلاغة) Nujūm 211.

ii. *Munyatu 'l-ḥarīṣ Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ* (منية الحريص شرح التلخيص) : Ibid.

40. Nūru 'd-Dīn Aḥmadābādī (1155/1742).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, VI.)

C. i. *Al-Mu'awwal Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (المعول حاشية على المطول): Tadhkirah 248.

ii. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية علي شرح الجامي) : Ibid.

iii. *Ḥāshiyatu 'l-Manhal* (حاشية المنهل): Ibid.

41. Muḥammad 'Alā * b. Sh. 'Alī b. *Qāḍī* Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Muḥd. Ṣābir al-Fārūqī al-Thānawī (Composed in 1158/1745).

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* On the title page of the printed book the name of the author is given as such; but inside the book it appears as 'Ali which is a misprint for A'lā The former has been adopted by Brockelmann who gives the first word of the title of the book as كشف in place of كشاف and the latter by the editor of the Bankipur Library Catalogue.

[1. Brockelmann ii, 421; 2. Jurjī Zaydān iii, 329, 3 Maḥbūb 597.]

A. *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāti 'l-funūn* (كشاف اصطلاحات الفنون).

MSS. Rāmpūr 513; Bānkīpur 2009.

42 *Mullā* 'Abdu 'n-Nabī b. *Qāḍī* 'Abd al-Rasūl of Aḥmadnagar (composed in 1173/1759).

(For other works of his, see sections III, VI)

A. *Dastūru 'l-'ulamā'* (دستور العلماء) printed at Hyderabad.

MS. Bānkīpūr 2010.

43. Nūr Muḥammad Kashmīrī (1185/1780).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V.)

A. *Ḥāshiyah 'alā Sharḥi 'l-Jāmī* (حاشية على شرح الجامي) : in Bri. Mus.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Muṭawwal* (حاشية على المطول): Rāmpūr 563.

44 Abu 'l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥd. b. Muḥd. 'Abd al-Razzāq known as Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī al- Ḥanafī (1205/1291).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V.)

A. *Tāju 'l-'Arūs Sharḥu 'l-Qāmūs* (تاج العروس شرح القاموس): for MSS., see Brockelmann ii, 288.

B. *Al-Qawlu 'l-mabtūt fī taḥqīq lafẓ al-Tābūt* (القول المبتوت في تحقيق لفظ التابوت) : Cairo iv, 179.

C. i. *Takmilatu 'l-Qāmūs* (تكملة القاموس): 'Ajā'ibu 'l-āthār etc

ii. *Al-Taftīsh fī ma'nā lafz Durwīsh* (التفتيش في معنے لفظ درويش) : Ibid.

iii. *Al-Munā fī sirri 'l-kunā* (المنى في سر الكني) : Ibid.

iv. *Al-Ta'rīf bi ḍarūriyyāt 'ilmi 't-taṣrīf* (التعريف بضروريات علم التصريف) : Ibid.

45. 'Abdu 'l-Bāsiṭ b. Rustam 'Alī of Qannawj (1223/1808).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III.)

B. *Sharḥu 'sh-Shāfiyah* (شرح الشافية) : Buhār 375.

46. 'Alīm Allāh b. Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Qannawjī (a pupil of the above mentioned scholar).

(For another work of his, see section II.)

B. *'Aynu 'l-hudā sharḥ Qaṭri* 'n-nadā* (عين الهدى شرح قطر الندى) : Nadwah 672.

47. Muḥammad Ghawth Sharafu 'l-mulk b. Niẓām al-Dīn (1238/1822).‡

He belonged to the tribe, called Nawā'it who are said to be the descendants of those 'Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the holy city. His father wrote the history of Hyderabad in Arabic entitled وقائع نهجة ناصرجنگ ، مجهئة لدفع فساد الدظفر الطاغي في ديار التلنگ

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*The text is by Jamālu 'd-Din 'Abid Allah Yusuf Ibn Hishām al-Nhawi (761/1359).

‡Information regarding this author and the author No. 36 of this section was kindly supplied to me by the former's grandson Dr. M. Hamīd Allāh of Hyderabad.

He himself was a great author and composed many works, of which the most important is نثر لمر جان في رسم نظم القرآن which has been published in seven volums at Hyderabad. His other works are: 1 فوائد صبغيه شرح الفرائض السراجيه 2. كفاية المبتدى في فقه الشافعي 3 سواطع الانوار في معرفة اوقات الصلوة والا سحار 4. مسائل في فقه الشافعي 5. زاد الارشاد الي اهل دار الجهاد 6. نهر الفوائد و بحور الفرائد في 7. دلائل البركات شرح دلائل الخيرات 8. الفرائض في الفروع تعليقات علي مختصر ابي شجاع etc.

[Ta'rīkhu 'n-Nawā'it by 'Azīz Jang of Hyderabad.]

(For other works of his, see sections X, XI.)

B. i. *Ta'līqāt 'alā Sharḥ Qaṭri 'n-nadā* (تعليقات على شرح قطر الندي) . in the possession of his descendants.

ii. *Kāfī Mukhtaṣaru 'l-Kāfiyah* (كافي مختصر الكافيه) : Ibid.

iii. *Shāfī Sharḥu 'l-Kāfī fi 'n-naḥw* (شافي شرح الكافي في النحو) : Ibid.

vi. *Hawāshī 'alā Qāmūsi 'l-Fīrūzābādī* (حواشي علي قاموس الفيروزابادي) : Ibid.

48. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-' Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, X.)

B. *I'jāzu 'l-balāghah* (اعجاز البلاغة) : Rāmpūr 559.

49. Faḍl Imām Khayrābādī (1243/1827).

(For another works of his, see sections VI.)

B. *Risālah fi 'n-Naḥw* (الرسالة في النحو) : Delhi 1082.

50. Muḥammad Irtiḍā 'Alī Khān b. Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān of Gupāma'ū (1251/1835).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VI.)

A. *Al-Nafā'isu 'l-Irtiḍā'iyyah fī sharḥi 'r-risālati 'l-'azīziyyah* (النفائس الارتضائية في شرح الرسالة العزيزية) : see Āṣafiyyah iii, 70.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN OR DOUBTFUL DATES

1. Sirāju 'd-Dīn Awadhī

B *Hidāyatu 'n-naḥw* (هداية النحو) : Rāmpūr 557.

2. Shaykh Muḥammad known as Salīm b. Al-Ja'farī of Jawnpūr.

B. *Al-Mīzān fī 'ilmay al-'arūḍ wa 'l- qawāfī* (الميزان في علمي العروض والقوافي) : Rāmpūr 573.

3. *Qāḍī* Ghulām Muḥammad of Lahore.

B. *Hawāshī Anwār al-fawā'id 'alā ḥāshiyah 'Abdi 'l-Ghafūr* (حواشي انوار الفوائد على حاشية عبد الغفور) : Peshāwar 1313.

4. Mas'ūd-i-Multānī.

B. *Al-Shamsiyyah Sharḥ Mi'atah 'āmil* (الشمسية شرح مائة عامل) : Rāmpūr 546.

5. Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Ḥasanī of Nagrām.

B. *Nādiru 'l-bayān fī 'n-naḥw* (نادر البيان في النحو): Edinburgh 37.

6. Sharafu 'd-Dīn of Rāmpūr.

B. *Ḥāshiyah 'ala 'l-Kāfiyah* (حاشية على الكافية) : Delhi 1167.

SECTION X

ORNATE PROSE AND BELLES LETTERS.

1. Muḥamad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Bukhārī, styled *Sulṭānu 'l-Mashā'ikh* and Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Awliyā' (725/1324).

He was one of the most celebrated Muslim saints of India. His grandfather migrated from Bukhārā to Lahore and then to Badā'un where he was born in the month of Ṣafar, 634 (October, 1236). After completing elementary education he, while twelve years old, went to Delhi and studied literature and *Ḥadīth* under Shamsu 'l-mulk who was a distinguished scholar of the age. He took so much interest in polemic discussions that he won the title of *baḥḥāth* (a great debator) from his fellow students. When he was twenty years old, he went to Shaikh Farīdu 'd-Dīn Shakarganj and entering into the circle of his disciples, later on became his *khalīfah*. Then he returned to Delhi, where his reputation as one of the greatest Muslim saints knew no bound. He died on the 17th of Rabī'u-'l awwal, 725 A.H. (April 3, 1325 A. D.). Amīr Khusraw, the greatest Persian poet of India, was one of his disciples.

[**1.** Akhbār 54, **2.** Firishtah ii, 730, **3.** Safīnatu' l-Awliyā' 97, **4.** Ḥadā'iq, **5.** Tadhkirah 240, **6.** Beale 302.]

A. *Khuṭbatu 'l-Jumu'ah* (خطبة الجمعة).

2. *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn 'Umar Zāwulī Dawlatābādī (849/1445).

(For other works of his, see sections III, V, IX.)

A. *Muṣaddiqu 'l-faḍl sharḥ Qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād* (مصدق الفضل شرح قصيدة بانت سعاد): printed at Hyderabad, Deccan.

3. Ilāh-dād of Lucknow (10th Century).

(For another work of his, see section IX.)

C. i. *Risālah bi ṭarīqi 'l-jadwal* (رسالة بطريق الجدول): Badā'ūnī iii, 85.

ii. *Qayṭūn* (قيطون) : Ibid.

4. 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Ārif al-'Uthmānī, called 'Abdu 'n-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (after 1020/1611).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, IX.)

C. i. *Kunūzu 'l-asrār fī sharḥ ash'āri 'l-Shaṭṭār* (كنوز الاسرار فى شرح اشعار الشطار) : Tadhkirah 135.

ii. *Ḥadā'iqu 'l-inshā'* (حدائق الانشاء) : Ibid.

5. 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-'Aydarūs Aḥmadābādī (1035/1625).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VIII.)

B. i. *Al-Makātib* (المكاتب) : Delhi 1272 ; Berlin 8633.

ii. *Fatḥu 'l-Jawād fī sharḥ qaṣīdati 'Abdi 'l-Hādī* (فتح الجواد في شرح قصيدة عبد الهادي) : Būhār 432.

iii. *Sharḥu 'l-Qaṣīdati 'n-nūniyyah li Abī Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs* (شرح القصيدة النونية لابي بكر بن عبدالله العيدروس) : Būhār 433 ; Berlin 4012.

6. 'Abd Allāh b. Jum'ah al-Lāhūrī al-Hindī (composed in 1122/1710).

B. *Mubhij li 'n-nufūs wa mubliju 'l-'abūs fī nawādiri 'l-ḥikāyāt wa gharā'ibi 'l-musāmarāt* (مبهج للنفوس و مبلج العبوس فى نوادر الحكايات و غرائب المسامرات) : Pet. Ros. 112. (See Brockelmann ii, 416.)

7. Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin al-Bā'būdī al-'Alawī (composed in 1128/1715).

Concerning the author, nothing could be known except that he was an 'Arab and lived for a considerable time in India. The Chronogram at the end indicates that the undermentioned work was completed in 1128/1715.

A. *Al-Maqāmātu 'l-Hindiyyah* (المقامات الهندية).

MSS. Āṣafiyyah ii, 1524; Būhār 442; Peshawar 1195; Rāmpūr 619.

8. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī b. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī (1338/1725).

(For other works of his, see section VI, X.)

B. *Al-Ḥikamu 'l-'irfāniyyah* (الحكم العرفانية) : Nadhīr Aḥmad 99.

9. Muḥammad 'Ābid of Lahore (1160/1747).

(For another work of his, see section I.)

C. *Sharḥ Qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād* (شرح قصيدة بانت سعاد) : Tadhkirah 202.

10. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called Shāh Walī Allāh b. 'Abdi 'r-Raḥīm of Delhi (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, XI.)

A. *Khuṭbatu 'l-Jumu'ah* (خطبة الجمعة).

11. Sayyid Muḥammad Bilgrāmī b. Sayyid 'Abdi 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1185/1771).

He was the maternal uncle of S. Ghulām 'Alī Āzād. Born in 1101/1592, he completed his education under his father and Sayyid Ṭufayl Muḥammad and was well-versed in Arabic literature. He made the undermentioned selection in 1155/1742.

[1. Ma'āthir 293, 2 Subḥah 87, 3. Abjad 909, 4 Tadhkirah 83, 5 Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl by S. Maqbūl Aḥmad Samdanī, 6. Āzād 53.]

C. *Al-Juz'u 'l-ashraf mina 'l-Mustaṭraf* (الجزء الاشرف من المستطرف) : Ma'āthir 296.

12. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (1200/1786).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VIII, XI.)

B. i. *Shifā'u 'l-'alīl fī iṣlāḥ kalāmi 'l-Mutanabbī* (شفاء العليل فى اصلاح كلام المتنبى) Nadhīr Aḥmad 101.

ii. *Kashkūl* (كشكول) : Āṣafiyyah iii, 642, Nadwah (*n*).

C. *Ghizlānu 'l-Hind* (غزلان الهند) : Abjad 921.

13. Muḥammad Ghawth Sharafu 'l-Mulk b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad (1238/1822).

(For other works of his, see sections IX, XI.)

B. *Sharḥ Bānat Su'ād* (شرح قصيدة بانت سعاد) : in the possession of his descendants.

14. Muḥammad Bāqir *al-mutākhallis bi*-Āgah of Madras (1220/1805).

His parents were residents of Bijāpur ; but he was born at Ellora in 1158/1745 and was brought up in the city of Madras. Having completed his education under Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Qarnī, he distinguished himself in Arabic Literature and vercification. He was a younger contemporary of Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzad Bilgrāmī, rightly known as Ḥassānu 'l-Hind, of whose poetry he was a great critic. In addition to the works, mentioned below, he is reported to have been the author of several works, namely, *Tanwīru 'l-baṣīr* (تنوير البصير), *Nafā'isu 'n-nikāt* (نفائس النكات) *Al-Qawlu 'l-mubīn* (القول المبين), *Al-Durru 'n-nafīs* (الدر النفيس), *Kashfu 'l-ghiṭā'* (كشف الغطاء), *Itḥāfu 's-sālik* (اتحاف السالك), *Jalā'iru 'l-baṣā'ir* (جلائر البصائر) *Tabyīnu 'l-inṣāf* (تبيين الانصاف) *al-Nuqūlu 'l-badī'ah* (النقول البديعة), *al-Ḥujjatu 'l- badī'ah* (الحجة البديعة), *Riyāḍu 'l-jinān* (رياض الجنان), *Rawḍatu 'l-islām* (روضة الاسلام) etc.

[**1.** Beale 36, **3.** Tadhkirah 188, **3.** Qāmūsu 'l-a'lām 83. **4.** His biography entitled Bāqir Āgāh by Muḥd. Murtaḍā]

(For other works of his, see section XI.)

B. *Irādāt* ***Muḥd.*** *Bāqir 'alā* ***Kalām*** *Āzād* (ايرادات باقر علي كلام آزاد) : Nadwah (*n*).

C. i. ***Maqāmatu 'sh-Shamāmati'l-Kāfūriyyah fi waṣfi 'l-ma'ābidati 'l-Illūriyyah (Ellora)*** (مقامة الشامة الكافورية في وصف المعابدة الالورية) : his biography.

ii. *Maqāmatu 'l-Khaṭfati' l-'uqābiyyah* ***li*** *'l-fa'rati 'l-miskīnah* (مقامة الخطفة العقابية الفارة المسكينة): Ibid.

iii. *Al-Maqāmatu 'l-Arkātiyyah:* (المقامة الارکاتية) Ibid.

iv. *Shamā'imu 'sh-shamā'il fī niẓāmi 'r-rasā'il* (شمائم الشمائل في نظام الرسائل): Ibid.

v. *Al-Maqāmatu 'l-Ḥaydarābādiyyah* (المقامة الحيدر آبادية): Ibid.

15. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI.)

B. i. *Al-Makātīb* (المكاتيب): Delhi 1297.

ii. *Sharḥ Urjūzatu 'l-Aṣma'ī* (شرح ارجوزة الاصمعي): Rāmpūr 596.

16. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd (1246/1830).

He was a great saint scholar of Rai Bareli and a *Khalīfah* of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Dihlawī. In 1237/1821, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madīnah. On return from the pilgrimage he left his native place for the Punjab raging a religious war there against the Sikhs. He met his sacred end in 1246/1830.

[1. Ithāf 416, 2. Abjad 916, 3. Beale 354, 4. Tadhkirah 81.]

B. *Murāsalāt* (مراسلات). Bri. Mus. Descriptive list p. 14.

17. Shāh Muḥd. Isma'īl b. 'Abdu 'l-Ghanī Dihlawī (1246/1830).

(For other works of his, see sections II, III, V.)

A. *Majmū'atu 'l-Khuṭab* (مجموعة الخطب). Bri. Mus.

18. Shāh Rafī'u 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI, XI.)

B. *Ruqqa 'āt* (رقعات) : Delhi 1297.

19. Rashīdu 'd-Dīn Khān of Delhi (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see section V.)

A. *Al-Makātīb* (المكاتيب): Āṣafiyyah i, 112; MS. Delhi 1297.*

20. Aḥmad b. Muḥd al-Yamanī al-Shirwānī (1256/1840).

(For another work of his, see section VIII.)

A. i. *Nafḥatu 'l-Yaman fī-mā yazūl bi-dhikrihi 'sh-shajan* (نفحة اليمن فيما يزول بذكره الشجن).

ii. *'Ajabu 'l-'ujāb bi-mā yufīdu 'l-kuttāb* (عجب العجاب بما يفيد الكتاب).

MSS. Aligarh p. 78,127.

iii. *Al-Manāqibu 'l-Ḥaydariyyah* (المناقب الحيدرية).

iv. *Al-Jawharu 'l-waqqād fī sharḥ qaṣīdah Bānat Su'ād* (الجوهر الوقاد في شرح قصيدة بانت سعاد): Bri-Mus. MS. Būhār 434.

21. Muḥammad Laṭīf (1267/1850).

[Tajallī 128].

C. i. *Al-Ḥikāyāt bi 'l-'Arabiyyah* (الحكايات بالعربية): Ibid.

* Here the title is given as رقعات.

ii. *Tatmīm ta'rīb Ṭūṭī-nāmah* (تتميم تعريب طوطي نامه) : Ibid.

22. Riḍā Ḥasan Khān b. Amīr Ḥasan Khan Kākorī (composed in 1964/1847).

Born in 1246/1830, he completed his education while he was 18 years old. He was chiefly interested in Arabic literature.

[Tadhkirah 63.]

(For another work of his, see section XI.)

C i. *Maṭāriḥu 'l-adhkiyā'* (مطارح الاذكياء) Ibid.

ii. *Sharḥ Anmūdhaji 'l-kamāl* (شرح انموذج الكمال) Ibid.

23. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Shāhjahānpūrī (1276/ 1859).

A. *Riyāḍu 'l-Firdaws* (رياض الفردوس): Bri Mus.

24. Muḥammad Shakūr (born in 1211-1796).

[Tajallī 127.]

C. i. *Sharḥu 'l-Maqāmāti 'l-Hindiyyah* (شرح المقامات الهندية): Ibid.

ii. *Ta'rīb Ṭūṭī-nāmah* (تعريب طوطي نامه): Ibid.

SECTION XI

POETRY

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salman Lāhūrī generally known as Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (515/1121).

His grand father was a native of Hamadhān. His father migrated to Lahore during the Ghaznawid period and joined the service of the Ghaznawid *Sulṭān* Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (451-492/1059-1099). Our poet who was a distinguished scholar was attached to the son of *Sulṭān* Ibrāhīm. But he was imprisoned for about 20 years in the castle of Nāy by command of *Sulṭān* Ibrāhīm who suspected him of intriguing with the Saljūq king Malik-Shāh. He died in impiisonment. As a poet of Persian he was held in great esteem by men of letters and poets of distinction. Apart from Persian, he composed verses in Arabic and Hindī also. All his biographers have mentioned that he was an author of three *dīwāns* in Persian, Arabic and Hindi one in each. But unfortunately only his Persian *dīwān* has come to us.

[**1.** Lubābu 'l-albāb ii, 246, **2.** Tadhkirah-i-Dawlat Shah, **3.** Subḥah 26, **4.** Abjad 890, **5.** Tadhkirah 226, **6.** Browne's Literary History of Persian ii, 324, **7.** J.A.R.S for 1905 (pp. 693-740) and for 1906 (pp. 11-51), **8.** Āzād 5.]

C. *Dīwān* (الديوان بالعربية).

2. Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥd. b. Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī (50/1252).

(For other works of his, see sections II, IX.)

B. *Ta'zīz baytay al-Ḥarīrī* (تعزيز بيتي الحريري) : Berlin 7756.

3. *Qāḍī* 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir b. *Qāḍī* Rukni 'd-Dīn al-Kindī al-Dihlawī (791/1388).

He was a *Khalīfa* of Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Awadhī and a teacher of *Qāḍī* Shihābu 'd-Dīn Dawlatabādī.* He was well-versed in Arabic literature and composed very elegant odes and panegyrics in that language. The undermentioned panegyric which he composed in the imitation of the *Lāmiyatu 'l-'Arab* is one of his master pieces.

[1. Akhbār f. 147, 2. Ṭabaqāt f. 19, 3. Ma'āthir 183, 4. Subḥah 29, 5. Abjad 892, 6. Ḥadā'iq 299, 7. Tadhkirah 133, 8. Āzād 11.]

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-lāmiyyah* (القصيدة اللامية), (some introductory couplets are cited in the Akhbār and some of the subsequent books).

4. Aḥmad Thāneswarī (d. in the early part of the 9th century).

He was a distinguished scholar and a talented poet and was a disciple of Shaykh Maḥmūd Naṣīru 'd-Dīn entitled Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī. During the invasion of Delhi by Tīmūr, members of his family were arrested by the invader's men; but when Tīmūr heard of his intellectual and spiritual excellences he showed him great honour and entered him into his circle. After Tīmūr's return from India, our poet migrated to Kālpī where he peacefully passed his remaining life in teaching.

* For a short account of his life, refer to p. 167 *Supra* and for his work, refer to Sections III, V, IX, X.

[1. Akhbār f. 142, 2. Ṭabaqāt 23, 3. Ma'āthir 186, 4. Subḥah 37, 5. Abjad 892, 6. Ḥadā'iq 313, 7. Tadhkirah 18, 8. Āzād 13.]

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'd-dāliyyah* (القصيدة الدالية) : (the Akhbār, the Subḥah etc. contain some introductory lines of this poem.)

5. Shaykh 'Alā'u 'd-Dīn 'Alī Muttaqī b. Ḥusāmi 'd-Dīn of Burhānpūr (975/1567).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV.)

B. *Naẓmu 'd-durar** (نظم الدرر) : Āṣafiyyah ii, 1526 ; Bengal i, 1054.

6. Muḥammad b. 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz al-Ma'barī of Kālīkot in Mālābar (10th century).

(For a short note on him, refer to page 208 *supra*).

B. *Al-fatḥu 'l-mubīn li 's-Sāmirī alladhī yuḥibbu 'l-Muslimīn* (الفتح المبين للسامري الذي يحب المسلمين) : Loth 1044, vi.

7. Shaykh Fuḍayl b. Sh. Jalāl Wāṣil of Kālpī (in the tenth century).

He was a master of Arabic literature and a poet. In addition to the panegyrics and odes, he also wrote a review of Fayḍī's' *Sawāṭi'u 'l-ilhām* in Arabic prose and verse.

[Tadhkirah 165.]

C. *Al-Qaṣā'id* (القصائد) Ibid.

8. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm Dihlawī (1131/1718).

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*Since putting this work under this section on poetry, I have come to this conclusion that it is in prose and not in poetry and so its right place is in section iv on p. 299 along with other works of the same author.

He was a descendant of 'Umar Fārūq, the second caliph, and the father of the celebrated Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī.

[1. Ḥayāt-i-Walī by Muḥd. Raḥīm Bakhsh, 2. Tadhkirah 119.]

B. *Al-Qiṭ'ah 'ala 'n-nafs* (القطعة علي النفس بجواب ابي علي سهنا): Delhi 308.

9. Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1138/1725).

(For other works of his, see sections VI, X.)

C. *Al-Qaṣā'id* (القصائد) Subḥah 79.

10. 'Alī Aṣghar b. 'Abdi 'ṣ-Ṣamad Qannawjī (1140/1727).

(For other works of his, see sections I, IV.)

C. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-Mīmiyyah fi 'n-nafaḥāti 'l-Muḥammadiyyah* (القصيدة الميمية في النفحات المحمدية) : Tadhkirah 141.

11. Ḥabīb 'Abd Allāh (in the time of Farrukhsiyar of Delhi—1124-1131/1713-1719).

B. *Dīwān* (ديوان حبيب عبدالله): Āṣafiyyah i, 700.

12. Quṭbu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, called, Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1176/1762).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, III, IV, V, X.)

A. *Aṭyabu 'n-nagham fī madḥ Sayyidi 'l-'Arab wa 'l-'ajam* (اطيب النغم في مدح سيد العرب والعجم): lithographed at Murādabād containing one *qaṣīdah* known as القصيدة البائية

accompanied by a Persian commentary by the author himself.

MS. Delhi 1273.

B. *Dīwān* (ديوان شاه ولي الله): Nadwah 358.

13. Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (1200/1786).

(For other works of his, see sections II, VIII, X.)

A. i. *Dīwān-i-Āzād* ((ديوان آزاد)): see Mu'jam p. 1.

MSS. 3 parts at Āṣafiyyah i, 696; one part at Bri. Mus. OR. 8269 (not yet catalogued); Rāmpūr 586; the 8th Dīwān at Kutub-Khānah 'Ārif Beg of Madīnah (see the Ma'ārif of A'ẓamgarh vol. xviii, p. 339); the seven *dīwāns* entitled (السبعة السيارة) at Nadwah (n) 16; for an autographic copy of the same, see Nadhīr Aḥmad 152.

ii. *Mukhtārāt dīwān Āzād* (مختارات ديوان آزاد) : Āṣafiyyah iv, 280.

iii. *Mir'ātu 'l-Jamāl* (مرآت الجمال) : see Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥason's *Nashwatu 's-Sakarān.*

B. i. *Maẓharu 'l-barakāt* (مظهر البركات) : Miftāḥ 1838; Nadwah 334.

ii. *Tasliyatu 'l-fu'ād* (تسلية الفؤاد) : Kutub Khānah 'Ārif Beg of Madīnah (see above).

14. Muḥammad Bāqir *al-Mutakhalliṣ bi* Āgah (1220/1805).

(For other works of his, see sections X.)

C. i. *Dīwān* (ديوان) : Tadhkirah 188.

ii. *Tilka 'asharah kāmilah* (تلك عشرة كاملة بجواب السبعة المعلقة) : his biogrphy.

iii. *Al-Nafhatu 'l-'anbariyyah fī midhati Khayri 'l-bariygah* (النفحة العنبرية في مدحة خيرالبرية) : Ibid.

15. Muhammad Ghawth Sharafu 'l-Mulk b. Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad (1238/1822).

(For other works of his, see sections IX, X.)

B. *Urjūzah fī alqāb hadrat 'Alī* (ارجوزة في القاب حضرة علي) : in the possession of his descendant.

16. Shāh 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (1239/1823).

(For other works of his, see sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X.)

B. *Al-Tadmīn 'alā qasīdati aw qit'ati abīh* (التضمين علي قصيدة اوقطعة ابيه) : Delhi 895.

17. Shāh Muhammad Rafī'u 'd-Dīn b. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1249/1833).

(For other works of his, see sections I, VI, X.)

B. i. *Al-Tadmīn 'alā qasīdati abīh* (التضمين على قصيدة ابيه) : Dilhi 308.

ii. *Al-Tadmīn 'alā qasīdati jaddih 'ala 'n-nafs* (التضمين علي قصيدة جده على النفس) :Ibid.

18. Muhammad Salīm (1266/1849).

[Tajallī 129].

C. *Al-Qaṣā'id* (القصائد بالعربية): Ibid.

19. Fayḍ Aḥmad b. *Ḥāfiẓ* Ghulām Aḥmad b. Shamsu 'd-Dīn Badā'ūnī (1244/1857).

He was born in 1223/1808 and completed his education under his own maternal uncle Shāh Faḍl Rasūl Badā'ūnī and was a disciple of his maternal grand father Shāh 'Abdu 'l-Majid. Besides the work mentioned below, he wrote marginal notes on the *Ṣadrā* (حاشية على الصدرا) and on the *Fuṣūṣ* (حاشية علي الفصوص). He was a poet and composed verses in Arabic, Persian and Urdū.

[Tadhkirah 165]

C. *Dīwān* (الديوان بالعربية): Ibid.

20. Riḍā Ḥasan Khān b. Amīr Ḥasan Khān Kākūrī composed about 1264/1847).

(For other works of his, see sections X.)

C. *Anmūdhaju 'l-kamāl* (انموذج الكمال): Tadhkirah 65.

21. Muḥammad Faḍl Ḥaqq b. Faḍl Imām Khayrābādī (1278/1861).

(For other works of his, see sections IV, VI, VIII.)

B. *Majmū'atu 'l-qaṣā'id* (مجموعة القصائد): Rāmpūr 615.

22. *Ḥāfiẓ* Ghulām Ḥusayn of Rāmpūr.

B. *Al-Qaṣīdatu 'l-madḥiyyah* (القصيدة المدحية): Rāmpur 610

[END]

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line				
15	4	*Add*	'Alī	before b. Aḥmad	
15	28	*Read*	إقامه	for	إضافه
23	2	,,	'Aṭā	,,	'tā
31	24	,,	says	,,	say
36	18	,,	the	,,	these
43	30	,,	Ḥiṣkafī	,,	Khafṣakī
47	15	,,	*ward*	,,	*wardi*
56	Beween lines 6 & 7 add '(*a*) *Text Books*' as a sub-heading.				
73	31	*Read*	*Six*	for	*Two*
75	24 & 25 'Him' and 'His' should be with small h.				
79	26	*Read*	*Lām*	for	*Alif*
89	23	*Add* 'Nāṣir' after 'Muḥammad'.			
99	14	*Read*	1119/1707	for	1191/1777
105	18	,,	*Āl 'Imrān*	,,	*al-'Imrān*
119	21		Rāzī	,,	Rāzi '
122	13	,,	*Mashshā'ūn*	,,	*Mashāha'ūn*
128	19 & 20 'him' should be with the capital H.				
131	19	*Read*	fully	for	full
140	15	Delete 'who received......Aurangzib'			
145	18	*Read*	Muḥammad b.	for	Aḥmad b.
163	9	,,	*wa*	,,	*fi*
177	33	,,	the	,,	he
178	17	,,	إنجماً	,,	إنجمناً
179	16	,,	کاري	,,	کار
182	23	,,	حبذا	,,	جندا
210	7-8	,,	Fort Sitārah	,,	'for al-Sitārah'
234	9	*Add*	V after IV.		
239	31	*Read*	13 96	,,	1369
239	33	,,	1397	,,	1357
242	24	,,	V, VI	,,	IV, V
248	29	,,	1823	,,	1828
254	15	*Add* after the bracket 'See section IX Also.'			
255	12	,,	IV after III.		
258	4	'ibn' should be with the capital I.			
— — —	27	*Add* after the bracket 'See section III also.'			
263	7	*Read*	Shāh	for	Qāḍī
263	26	,,	V	,,	III
267	30	,,	'*z-zākhirah*	,,	'*dh-dhākhirah*
269	29	,,	him	,,	his
273	16	,,	V	,,	VI

Page	Line		
275	9	*Add* 'India Office 1703' after 167.	
281	14	„ after the bracket 'See section VI also.'	
285	15	*Read* VII	for VIII
285	18	„ 10th	„ 12th
288	8	„ pupil of	„ 'b.'
288	15	*Add* VIII after V.	
289	25	*Read* Shāh	„ Muḥammad b.
291	29	„ *thiqat*	„ *thuqat*
317	10	„ 1823	„ 1828
318	14	„ VIII	„ VII
323	6	„ Wajih	„ Wajib
327	22	*Add* after the Bracket 'Peshāwar 794.'	
331	10	*Read* VI	for IV
334	23	„ *Nafaḥāti*	„ *Nafḥati*
339	1	„ *Mizān*	„ *Nizām*
349	8	„ Mir Hāshim Jilāni	„ Mir Hāshim b... Afḍal.
349	13	*Add* after 'Farḥat' '75'	
349	Between lines 13 & 14, *add* 'See sections VIIA and IX also.'		
352	26	*Read* sections I & V for section V.	
355	25	„ „ IX, X „ „ X.	
360	17	„ 12th century	„ 1200/1785
364	9	*Add* 'Akmal Khān b. Ḥakim' before Wāṣil.'	
382	Between lines 24 & 25 *add* 'See section XI also.'		
384	3	*Read* 'ulwiyyah	for 'ulawiyyah.
395	20	„ 1695	for 1707
400	15	„ A. i. for A.	
400	Between lines 21 and 22, *add* :— 'ii. تعليق الفرائد علي تسهيل الفوائد وتكميل المقاصد'		
407	19	*Read* 1090	for 1890
413	12	„ 'Alimu 'd-Din for	'Alim Allāh.
419	24	*Delete* this line.	
423	After the last line *add* 'See section VII also.'		
430	4	*Read* 1274	for 1244.
433	25	*Add* after Rāmpūr	'(13th century.)'

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